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Boiotian Games:
Festivals, *Agōnes*, and the
Development of Boiotian Identity

By

Paul Robert Grigsby

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Declaration

The author states that this thesis is their own work. The author also confirms that this thesis, or any part of it, has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

This thesis takes as its theme Boiotian identity as expressed and disseminated through Boiotian games and festivals. It provides a complete chronological record of the evidence for Boiotian *agōnes* from the seventh century BC through to the end of the third century AD - alongside that of the most important collective Boiotian festivals – and discusses the role played by these games and festivals in the creation, development, and promotion of a unified Boiotian identity, thus contributing to the wider debates on identity and Boiotian ethnogenesis.

In contrast to recent studies - which by the nature of their methodology focus on the development of a unified Boiotian identity through shared traditions - this thesis emphasises the role of the separate Boiotian *poleis* in the creation of a multifaceted Boiotian identity, reflecting the federal nature of the Boiotian political system. This thesis also highlights three important roles played by festivals and *agōnes* in the formation and development of Boiotian identity: firstly, in the development of a unified Boiotian identity (Boiotian ethnogenesis proper) through cult interactions at local - often liminal - sanctuaries during the Geometric, Archaic, and early Classical periods; secondly, in the promotion through *agōnes* of Boiotian identity to the wider-Hellenic world especially during the later Classical, Hellenistic, and early-Roman periods; and thirdly, in maintaining a Boiotian community following the coming of Rome and the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* after 171BC, where participation in pan-Boiotian agonistic festivals was a crucial factor in the regeneration of a quasi-political Boiotian *koinon* just before the Imperial era. Games and festivals, so this thesis argues, were integral in the creation, dissemination, and survival of Boiotian identity.

List of Abbreviations

<i>ADelt</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>Anth. Gr.</i>	<i>Anthologia Graeca [Palatina / Planudea]</i>
<i>Arch.Eph</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (A): Athenische Abteilung (1876–) (B): Baghdadische Abteilung (I): Istanbulische Abteilung (K): Kairoische Abteilung (R): Römische Abteilung (1886–)</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports published by the Hellenic Society</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>I. Worthington (ed.), Brill's New Jacoby (2006–)</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CID</i>	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. Paris (1977-) 4 vols. Vol. I, Lois sacrées et règlements religieux, ed. Georges Rougement. Paris (1977); II, Les Comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle, ed. Jean Bousquet. Paris (1989); III, Les Hymnes à Apollon, ed. Annie Bélis. Paris 1992; IV, Documents Amphictioniques, ed. François Lefèvre, with contributions by Didier Laroche and Olivier Masson, Paris (2002)</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>

CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
DAMM	Robert, Louis. <i>Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale. Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie. Genève and Paris (1966)</i>
EE	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>
FD	<i>Fouilles des Delphes, III Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie Bourguet, É. ed. Fasc. 1, Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens, Paris (1929); Colin, G. ed. Fasc. 2, Inscriptions du trésor des Athéniens, Paris (1909-1913); Colin, G. ed. Fasc. 4, Vol. 1, Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et la région nord du sanctuaire, Paris (1930); Flacelière, R. ed. Fasc. 4, Vol. 2, Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et la région nord du sanctuaire, Paris (1954); Plassart, A. ed. Fasc. 4, Vol. 3, Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et la région nord du sanctuaire, Paris (1970); Pouilloux, J. ed. Fasc. 4, Vol. 4, Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et la région nord du sanctuaire, Paris (1976)</i>
FGrH	Jacoby, F. (1923 -) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Brill, Leiden (1923-)</i>
FHG	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum (1841–70)</i>
GHI	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC, rev. edn. (1988)</i>
I.agōn.gr	Moretti, L. <i>Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche, Rome (1953)</i>
IDelos	Durrbach, F., et al. eds. <i>Inscriptions de Délos, Paris (1926-)</i>
IEph	McCabe, Donald F. <i>Ephesos Inscriptions. Texts and List. «The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia», The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (1991)</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IMagn.	McCabe, Donald F. <i>Magnesia Inscriptions. Texts and List. «The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia», The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. Packard Humanities Institute CD #6, (1991) — Includes: Otto Kern. Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander. Berlin (1900)</i>
IOropos	V. Petrakos, <i>Oi Ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ, Athens (1997)</i>

<i>ISestos</i>	<i>Krauss, Johannes. Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 19. Bonn (1980)</i>
<i>Istanb. Forsch.</i>	<i>Marek, Christian. Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia. «Istanbuler Forschungen», 39. Tübingen (1993)</i>
<i>IThesp</i>	<i>P. Roesch, Les Inscriptions de Thespies: online corpus available at www.hisoma.mom.fr/production-scientifique/lesinscriptions-de-thespies (2007[2009])</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>Fraser, P. M., and Matthews, E. eds. The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1987-)</i>
<i>LSAG</i>	<i>Jeffery, Lilian Hamilton. The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. Oxford (1961). Second edn., with a Supplement by Alan W. Johnston. Oxford (1990)</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>H.G. Liddell et al., Greek-English Lexicon</i>
<i>OMS</i>	<i>L. Robert, Opera Minora Selecta, 7 vols. Amsterdam (1969–90)</i>
<i>PLond.</i>	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum (1893–)</i>
<i>Polemon</i>	<i>Polemon. Epistemonikon archaiologikon periodikon (Athens)</i>
<i>POxy</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri (1898–)</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RO</i>	<i>P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC, Oxford, (2003; revised edn. 2007)</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>Syll³</i>	<i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum, ed. Wilhelm Dittenberger. 3rd edn., eds. Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, Johannes Kirchner, Hans Rudolf Pomtow and Erich Ziebarth. 4 vols. Leipzig (1915-1924)</i>

SGDI

Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften

ZPE

Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Introduction

I.1 Boiotian Games

In 464BC Pindar composed an *epinikian* ode for Diagoras of Rhodes, celebrating his victory at Olympia in the boxing.¹ Having listed his achievements at Isthmia and Nemea, Athens, Argos, Arcadia and Thebes, Pindar went on to mention Diagoras' success at the 'duly-ordered games of the Boiotians' (*Olympian* 7.84-85):²

ὃ τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν, τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ

ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις, ἀγῶνές τ' ἔννομοι

Βοιωτίων

The bronze in Argos came to know him, as did the works

of art in Arcadia and Thebes, and the duly ordered games

of the Boiotians³

The existence of these 'Boiotian games' is evidence of the Boiotians in the first half of the fifth century BC as a unified group, a cultural community identified at the very least on religious grounds, willing to promote themselves as such to a wider Greek audience through the medium of competition linked to local cult.⁴ The promotion of identity through agonistic competition is the central theme of this thesis, the aim of which is to provide an in-depth overview of the history of the Boiotian *agōnes* from their inception during the Archaic period through to their disappearance in the fourth century AD, my argument being that such *agōnes* offer a window onto aspects of the complex amalgam that was Boiotian identity which would otherwise remain invisible.

¹ Date see Ganter, 2013, 99 n.71. Schachter unaccountably refers to Diagoras as Theban - Schachter, 2016, 61 n.39.

² Willcock, 1995, 131 explains ἔννομοι 'duly ordered' as 'fixed in the calendar', 'annual', or 'local' depending on the understanding of νόμος. Schachter prefers Slater's original 'traditional' (Slater, 1969, s.v. ἔννομος) – Schachter, 2016, 61.

³ Trans. Race, 1997, 133.

⁴ Cultural community on religious grounds - Larson, 2007b, 144. The precise identity of Pindar's 'Boiotian games' is troublesome, and I will return to this problem in Chapter Two.

But the importance of the Boiotian *agōnes* extends far beyond their role as carriers of identity. This thesis also investigates the Boiotian festivals and *agōnes* as creators of community. This complementary aspect of agonistic competition may be demonstrated, for example, in another hymn of Pindar's, his second *Partheneion* (fr.94b), the so-called *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles of Thebes*, which accompanied the Theban ritual of the Daphnephoria in which a local family were celebrated alongside the god Apollo.⁵ Here we learn of the praise of the family of Aioladas bestowed by their neighbours (*amphiktiones*) for their 'celebrated victories with swift-footed horses on the shores of famous Onchestos, and beside the glorious temple of Athena Itonia' (fr.94b 44-46), both important Boiotian sanctuaries.⁶ Not only were these games important for the expression of aristocratic prestige, but as sites of inter-Boiotian networking by the elites of various *poleis*, they provided the structure that enabled the eventual crystallization of the political Boiotian *koinon*, a process I will examine in detail in Chapters One and Two.⁷ The integral role of this network afforded by the agonistic festivals for group *formation* during the Archaic period was mirrored in the role played by such festivals in group *cohesion* during the early Roman period, when the political and military capabilities of the Boiotian *koinon* had been dissolved. As Müller has argued, it was through participation in pan-Boiotian agonistic festivals that the Boiotian *ethnos* was able to affirm its common identity in the absence of a formal constitutional framework, allowing the Boiotian *koinon* to regenerate just before the imperial era, in a similar manner to the way that networks of religious interaction lay behind the creation of the *koinon* in the first instance.⁸ Thus elite activity at agonistic competition was integral to the formation, development, and ultimately the survival of a unified Boiotia.

The commendation of the family of Aioladas by their peers at a Theban ritual for their actions on a wider Boiotian stage, (and in the traditionally 'Hellenic' activity of competition), should remind us that Boiotian festivals, and especially *agōnes*, could provide a platform for

⁵ See Proclus who says that Pindar's *Partheneia* celebrated 'man and god alike' – Proclus *Chrest.* in Photius (Cod. 239, pp. 321a-b Bekker).

⁶ *POxy* 4.659 (1904). Named by Grenfell and Hunt, although a number of presumptions are made. For Onchestos and Itonia, see Figure 1.

⁷ Kurke, 2007, 91. On the meaning of *amphiktiones* here see Chapter Two, and Kurke, 2007, 90; Mackil, 2013, 162; Kowalzig, 2007, 385. Shared ritual actions were an essential part of the process by which people from different communities (whether *poleis*, villages, or non-nucleated population groups) came to associate with one another in the first place, to articulate a sense of a common past, and to conceive of a shared and meaningfully unified territory – see Mackil, 2013, 157. I shall return to this idea of a common past in Chapter Two. See also Ganter, 2013, 102.

⁸ Müller, 2014, 122 and 136. I will examine this further in Chapters Five and Six.

expressions of prestige and identity at the level of the local *polis*, the regional Boiotian, or the wider Panhellenic, often at one and the same time. One thinks, by way of example, of the Thespian Mouseia, whose central cult was of local Thespian interest, and yet whose organization during the third century BC became pan-Boiotian, and whose scope included relations and negotiations with Hellenistic Kings.⁹ Such games provided a stage for a nexus of complex negotiations at numerous levels, and were capable of displaying identity at these various levels as well. It is this multi-layered nature of the games which, this thesis will argue, makes them an excellent resource for the investigation of Boiotian identity, providing as they do a more nuanced and complex picture than the rather one-sided accounts which stress the commonality of cults and rituals which led to the creation of a unified *ethnos*. The political Boiotian *koinon*, as a federal entity, was ever an uneasy amalgam of often conflicting *poleis*; any study of Boiotian identity must take this tension into account. For while common cults were integral to the matter of Boiotian ethnogenesis – I devote much of my first two chapters to this important process - this ‘argument from unity’ as I will call it, is just one side of Boiotian identity. The other side, the ‘argument from diversity’, is also required to build a complete and dynamic picture of the changing identity of the federal Boiotian *koinon*. As I will argue below, the Boiotian *agōnes* allow a unique view of this double-sided process, embodying local, regional, and Panhellenic concerns, while also being the most important carrier of collective Boiotian identity during the encounter with Rome.

I will begin this introduction with an overview of the geography of Boiotia, not simply to familiarize the reader with the landscape in which these festivals were held, but more importantly, to demonstrate how Boiotia’s topography was a critical factor in the shaping of the later federal *koinon*, that uneasy amalgam in which no one *polis* ever achieved complete dominance, and the strength of whose local identities is central to any understanding of Boiotian identity. In this introductory section I will trace the origins of the *Boiōtoi* in the communities of interaction which developed in this enclosed geographical setting, down to the existence of the Boiotian *ethnos* recognised by Athens in 506BC, which found itself on the wrong side of the Persian War less than thirty years later. The development of this unified Boiotia has been a topic of much recent scholarship, and in the concluding sections of this introduction I will seek to place this thesis within the sweep of this scholarship, especially as

⁹ These complex negotiations are examined in Chapter Three – see especially 3.3.5.

regards the most recent works on Boiotian ethnogenesis. Such works, I will argue, by the very nature of their enquiry provide a necessarily one-sided picture of Boiotian identity, based as they are on ideas of commonality, following Hall (1997) and Smith (1996). In contrast, in this thesis I will argue for an understanding of Boiotian identity which more closely reflects the federal nature of the political *koinon*. In the final section of this introduction, I ask the question ‘Why Games?’, setting out my own methodology wherein Boiotian *agōnes* are to be understood as the most representative material for a study of Boiotian identity from its Archaic beginning to its Roman end over a Millennium later.

I.2 Geography and the Creation of Boiotian Group Identity

Smith (1986) highlighted six common elements as central to the formation of a common identity - a common name, myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, a common culture, a link with a homeland, and a sense of solidarity; in contrast, Hall (1997) and (2002), emphasised the role of the myth of common descent, and a shared homeland - this latter either the group’s current residence, or an earlier shared territory.¹⁰ By the mid-fifth century BC, the Boiotians, as we are informed by Thucydides, traced their common origin back to the city of Arne in Thessaly, from where they had migrated some two generations after the Trojan War (1.12.3):

Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ
Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν

For the modern Boiotians were expelled from Arne, compelled to migrate by the Thessalians in the sixtieth year after the Trojan War to Boiotia

Despite Hall’s arguments for the putative nature of many such claims of shared movement and descent, acceptance of a Boiotian migration out of Thessaly persists amongst

¹⁰ Ganter, 2013, 85 n.2; Smith, 1986, 21-32; see also Hutchinson and Smith, 1996, 6-7. More recently Ganter has proposed the question outdated which are the most important criteria for defining ancient Greek ethnic identities - Ganter, 2013, 87. Hall refers to tales of common descent as primary *criteria* of *ethnos* foundation, as opposed to the secondary *indicia* often linked to groups which have already formed (such as biological features, language, religion or cultural traits) – see Hall, 1997, 21-22; 2002, 9; Hall bases his definitions on Horowitz, 1975, 119-120.

scholars to this day.¹¹ Proving its reality would be a difficult task.¹² As Vottéro (2006) has recently argued, the Aiolic element of the Boiotian dialect (that which they shared with their fellow Aiolian Greeks, the Thessalians and Lesbians) is minimal; and the mechanism of language shift – the movement of a few influential immigrants as opposed to a mass population movement – is, so Nicholas has stated, the most conservative assumption for shared dialect elements and should be the default assumption.¹³ Culturally, the elements shared with Thessaly were minimal. The Boiotian and Thessalian calendars, which did not crystallize until the fourth century BC, reveal almost no unique shared characteristics: five shared month names were found also in the calendars of other central Greek regions – Aitolia or Epizelian Locris – suggesting a regional sphere of interaction rather than evidence of migration from A to B, or B to A,¹⁴ even the month name Homoloios (which Vottéro sees as the only purely ‘Aiolian’ example, shared by the calendars of Boiotia, Thessaly, and Lesbos, and no other) on closer inspection appears also in that of Aitolia at Naupaktos, and Eretria (*IG I² 9 268* ca.300BC).¹⁵ This is not to rule out the strong probability that small groups from Thessaly arrived in Boiotia during this long period and brought with them cultural and dialectic elements which would play a part in defining later Boiotian identity; my point is to emphasise the overriding importance of the communities of interaction across geographical Boiotia which surely played the key role in *ethnos* formation.¹⁶ As Ganter has recently stated, Boiotian ethnogenesis not only relied on a mythic homeland, but also on a very real one.¹⁷ Boiotian identity was forged through complex interactions in a real physical space.¹⁸

¹¹ See for example Schachter, 2016, 16 – ‘the so-called Minyans and the *Boiōtoi* moved down from Thessaly and settled next to each other in Boiotia, the former at Orchomenos, the latter at Koroneia’, and Ganter, 2013, 98.

¹² It is unclear, for example, how one might identify the movement of Boiotians in the archaeological record, or what physical evidence would be characteristically Boiotian.

¹³ Vottéro, 2006, 99; Nichols, 1997, 372. Nichols distinguishes three possible mechanisms by which languages spread, these being language shift, demographic expansion, and migration, each differing primarily in the number of people involved in the spread. See also Parker, 2008, 437.

¹⁴ As Mili has recently argued, a wide cult catchment could also account for the shrines of Itonia in Thessaly and Boiotia, this link being another which has been taken to assume migration – Mili, 2014, 231.

¹⁵ Graninger, 2011, 96 and 104 n.64; see also Schachter, 1994, 120 n.3. On Homoloios as only shared Aiolian month name see Trümpy, 1997, 251 and Vottéro, 2006, 144-145. This is not the place for a discussion on Aiolian identity, a separate thesis in itself.

¹⁶ The Boiotian *ethnos* was the result of the interactions of a set of fiercely independent communities, interactions which were just as likely to take the form of conflict as they were of communion; against which reality the story of arrival of an already unified people lacks substance.

¹⁷ Ganter, 2013, 101.

¹⁸ The role of geography on Boiotian history is examined, for example, by Gartland (2012), which argues that Boiotian history is rendered more intelligible when viewed through the processes of geographic construction in which its inhabitants were involved.

The later geographical region of Boiotia (Figure 1) was for the most part defined by its limiting topography, consisting as it did of two discrete basins – one to the northwest, one to the southeast - bounded to the north by the mountains bordering Opuntian Lokris, to the west by Parnassos, to the south by Kithairon and Parnes, and to the east by the sea and the Euripos strait.¹⁹ These fertile basins were separated by the bountiful Lake Kopais and the Ptoion massif on its eastern shore, with the low saddle beneath Mt. Sphinx at Kopais' south-eastern corner – where the later Sanctuary of Poseidon Onchestos was situated – providing the easiest route between the two halves and a shared point of interaction between what Guillon termed 'les deux Béoties'.²⁰

The north-western basin stretched along the Kephisos valley and occupied the western side of Lake Kopais, with Orchomenos as its dominant city. The plain in front of Orchomenos and to the south (although periodically marshy through the episodic expansion and contraction of the lake) was good for cereal cultivation - the later Orchomenian coinage included an image of a grain of wheat in place of the Boiotian shield (see Figures 5 and 6) - and Lauffer has argued that from the Middle Helladic period (ca.1900-1550BC) onwards Orchomenos enjoyed a greater area of agriculture at its disposal than any other settlement in the region.²¹ This may lie behind Orchomenos' legendary reputation of great prosperity.²² During the Mycenaean period (ca.1550-1100BC) the drainage of parts of Lake Kopais extended Orchomenos' agricultural potential further, with a system of hydraulic works constructed to control the waters flowing into the basin, and canals directed to a number of swallow holes – *katavothrai* – on the eastern shore and in the north-east corner of the Kopais, protected by the island fortress of Gla.²³ Gla may have formed part of a line of fortification around the east side of the lake from Kopai down to Haliartos, an arrangement which has been interpreted by some as defence of the drainage system against Thebes – the rivalry between these Bronze Age palatial centres seemingly recorded in the mythical opposition between Erginos of Orchomenos and Herakles of Thebes.²⁴

¹⁹ That physical geography was not the only consideration is attested by the example of Oropos, whose location outside any clear geographical boundary made it a continued source of conflict between Boiotia and Attica. The negotiations around the limits of Theban territory (see below) give some idea of the complexity of the interplay between real and imagined territory.

²⁰ Guillon, 1948, 21.

²¹ Farinetti, 2011, 111. Lauffer, 1986, 131ff.

²² Homer has Achilles liken its wealth to that of Egyptian Thebes (*Iliad* 9.381).

²³ Schachter, 2016, 5.

²⁴ Buck, 1979, 38; Fossey, 1988 - 465-470; Beck and Ganter, 2015, 133. This drainage system itself became a casualty of the mythical war between Orchomenos and Thebes, being destroyed by Herakles – see Diod. Sic. 4.18; Paus. 9.38.7; Polyainos 1.3.5.

More recently, Schachter has suggested that the line of fortification, if extended to Eutresis, suggests protection of overland routes, and that the relations between Mycenaean Thebes and Orchomenos were in fact harmonious.²⁵ If so, the mythology of opposition more properly reflects the hostility of the Archaic period, in which east and west Boiotia – the spheres of Thebes and Orchomenos – were continually at odds.²⁶ During the Mycenaean period Thebes, which dominated the south-eastern basin, controlled a territory which included the whole of SE Boiotia from Mt. Helikon to the west, Mt. Ptoion to the north, and extending across the Euboian Strait to Karystos and possibly beyond.²⁷ Theban Linear B texts reveal religious ties with Mt. Ptoion and arguably Plataia and Tanagra, and it is possible that such links played a role in negotiating territorial ownership.²⁸ Thus the role of cult in connecting dispersed communities into a regional whole is in evidence from Mycenaean times. That the Thebes of the Archaic and Classical periods pursued the same territorial goals suggests either some form of continuation or a strong geographical determinism.²⁹

Following the Mycenaean collapse in the Late Helladic period (LHIIIB ca.1300-1190BC), the population of Boiotia, as of much of Greece, fell suddenly and dramatically (see Figures 3 and 4).³⁰ But from the Geometric period down to the Classical period, Boiotia showed a steady increase not exactly matched elsewhere, hinting at a general sense of security and a relatively strong surviving population base augmented with fairly substantial immigration, especially between the Geometric and Archaic periods.³¹ Occupation was continuous at Thebes and at Orchomenos, the latter being the only excavated site on the Kopais to show such continuation.³² There is no evidence of re-occupation of the Parasopia (the swathe of territory

²⁵ Schachter, 2016, 6.

²⁶ See below.

²⁷ See Farinetti, 2011, 192; Aravantinos et al. 2001, 355-358. Linear B texts may point to Theban interest at Ptoion - Schachter, 2000, 11-12.

²⁸ Text fq121 includes the allative *te-re-ja-de* tentatively linked to Hera *Teleia* at Plataia – see Schachter, 2000, 13-14, and Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi, 2003, 29, but c.f. Del Frio, 2009, 53. For territorial meaning of *Teleia* linked to ‘goddess of the τέλη’, see Schachter, 2016, 10; 2000, 13-14. For the Ptoion - Av 104 has the allative *po-to-a2-ja-de* meaning ‘towards the festival/mountain/region of Ptoion’ – the latter being preferable, see Del Frio, 2009, 66-67; festival - Sacconi, 2009, 212. Mention of Hermes may point to Tanagra – Schachter, 2016, 178.

²⁹ Archaeology suggests a continued occupation at Thebes, as does the continued use of the Bronze Age name Thebes itself – see Schachter, 2016, 11.

³⁰ Of the forty or so attested sites in LHIIIB, just eighteen or nineteen survived into LHIIIC, around ten into the Proto-Geometric, and five into the Early and Middle Geometric periods – see Fossey, 1988, 426-428. See Figures 3 and 4 in appendix. Dating, see Shelmerdine, 2008, 4.

³¹ Schachter, 2016, 7.

³² Fossey, 1988, 431.

either side of the river Asopos which stretched along the entire length of southern Boiotia towards Euboia) until the late Geometric or Archaic Periods, although Plataia was certainly inhabited by the former period.³³ It is possible that at this time larger *poleis* acted as refuge sites for the population as a whole, assuring some kind of continuity of culture and tradition, as suggested by the continued use of Mycenaean place names.³⁴ Thebes may have acted as a refuge for at least some of the population of the Parasopia.³⁵ It may be in such a light that Thebes' later claims to have populated Boiotia might be placed.³⁶

From the end of the Late Helladic period and continuing down into the Archaic period, a hierarchy of communities emerged, partially through the absorption and subordination of smaller communities, a pattern conforming (at a basic level), to Bintliff's 'Central Place Theory', wherein the hierarchy supplied the needs of each large settlement or 'central place'.³⁷ There followed a crystallization of the larger territorial boundaries, a process which Buck has suggested had already begun by the end of the ninth century BC, but which seems to have occurred at different rates and in different ways across the region: one should imagine a continuous process of adjustment stretching from the end of the ninth century BC down to the sixth century BC when the Boiotian concept of districts or *khōrai* (Figure 2) - the basis for the later confederation - was formalized.³⁸ This progression of crystallization culminated with an uneasy repeat of the Mycenaean dominance of Thebes in the east and Orchomenos in the west, although Chaironeia, Lebadeia, and Koroneia all developed into formidable urban centres with significant population figures in the Boiotian west.³⁹ Once again, Orchomenos' dominance owed much to its strategic geographical position, both as regards the incoming routes to Boiotia - the Kephisos valley linking to Phokis and Delphi, and the mountain behind Hyettos to Opuntian Lokris - and the domination of Lake Kopais.⁴⁰ Likewise, Thebes was equally well positioned to assert its dominance in the eastern half of Boiotia, being the hub of the land routes

³³ Desborough 1964, 121-2; Fossey, 1988, 430. Plataia - Farinetti, 2011, 187.

³⁴ Fossey, 1988, 431-432.

³⁵ Fossey, 1988, 434.

³⁶ See Thuc. 3.61.2.

³⁷ The most frequently quoted example is Hesiod's Askra, which was subordinated to a larger *polis*, normally understood as Thespiiai - see Schol. Hes. *Op.* 631 and Aristotle *FGrH* 115c. Other examples include Tanagra absorbing Graia - Farinetti, 2011, 225 n.9 - and Potniai by Thebes - Strabo 9.2.22. Although Mackil has pointed out that strictly Bintliff's theory implies little contact outside each territory, which cannot hold true for the Boiotian *poleis* - Mackil, 2013, 22 n.2.

³⁸ Buck, 1979, 91. Farinetti, 2011, 225. Farinetti points to the first half of the seventh century BC as particularly important here.

³⁹ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 132-133.

⁴⁰ Farinetti, 2011, 114 and 292.

to northern Attica, Oropos, Chalkis in Eretria, Northern Greece – via East Lokris – West Greece and Delphi, the Peloponnese via Megara, and the point of convergence of the routes linking Boiotia’s own coastal regions.⁴¹ Again, geographical determinism seems to have played a role in the continuing success of these same *poleis* which had been dominant during the Mycenaean period.

The *khōra* (district) of Thebes was naturally larger than that of any other *polis*, being free of any clearly marked physical constraint.⁴² Unlike those in the west of Boiotia, its limits were not geographically determined (unless one considers the southern boundary as the river Asopos, which at various times it no doubt was) so that as Farinetti notes, the principle of ‘one’s territory finishes where the territory of another begins’ was especially applicable.⁴³ Tension was inevitable, and while Thespiiai and Tanagra were distant enough to maintain their own independence, the Ptoion massif to the north and especially the Parasopia to the south became the *loci* of territorial disputes, some of which were managed through the expression of common cult.⁴⁴ These local disputes, in turn, became linked to the mostly Theban claims for a unified Boiotia and Boiotian identity during the sixth century BC.⁴⁵

The earliest evidence for a group named Boiotians comes from the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* in Book Two of the *Iliad*, where Homer’s Boiotians take pride of place as the first named contingent (*Iliad* 2.494-516).⁴⁶ Grouped together under the rule of five separate leaders, Homer’s Boiotians already show signs of being a loose coalition, although there is no indication of a single dominant state (the provenance of the five goes unspoken), nor direct mention of a common sanctuary for the Boiotians.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, their existence suggests some form of group identity towards the end of the eighth century BC, for which epigraphy gives no evidence until two centuries later.⁴⁸ Homer’s *Boiōtoi* occupied a much smaller territory than Classical

⁴¹ Fossey, 1988, 200.

⁴² Farinetti, 2011, 227.

⁴³ Farinetti, 2011, 227.

⁴⁴ See Chapter One.

⁴⁵ Inglese has suggested the Parasopia as a third independent region in Boiotia especially during the seventh century BC - Inglese, 2012, 23.

⁴⁶ There is a definite Boiotian-colouring to the *Catalogue*, with an especially large Boiotian contingent - Kirk, 1985, 178, and 190; some have suggested a Boiotian poet for this section of the *Iliad*, part of a Boiotian school of Catalogue Poetry – for example Anderson, 1995, 188; Larson, 2007b, 33; Page, 1959, 152.

⁴⁷ Schachter, 2016, 12. Homer is however aware of Poseidon at Onchestos, and possibly Athena at Alalkomenai. Homer’s use of the term *Boiōtoi* 2.494, 510, 526, 5.710, 13.685, 700, 14.477, 15.330, 17.597.

⁴⁸ Hansen and Nielsen, 2004, 58-70. The first unquestionable appearance in epigraphy is a dedication of the *Boiōtoi* to Athena at the Ptoion - Ducat, 1971, 409, no. 257; and see Chapter One. Larson dates a dedication at

Boiotia, with the Minyans of Orchomenos and Aspledon forming a separate contingent (*Iliad* 2.510-517), suggesting that in the eighth century BC any *locus* of Boiotian identity lay firmly to the south and east of Lake Kopais, with the Orchomenians not yet party to it.⁴⁹ No trace of a myth of shared origins, so important to Hall's definitions of a unified *ethnos*, appears in our sources until the mid-fifth century BC, with Herodotus' and Thucydides' accounts of the Boiotian migration from Thessalian Arne – a city which Homer places firmly *within* Boiotia (*Iliad* 2.507); Homer's eighth century BC 'Boiotians' perhaps imagined no such exotic or all-inclusive origins.⁵⁰ Instead, Homer's *Boiōtoi* might best be understood as the products of a community of interaction fostered by the intimate geographical environment, which doubtless had begun its long development soon after the Mycenaean collapse, in which trade, conflict, and religious interaction each played their part. Especially important were liminal sanctuaries which sprung up on the boundaries of a number of *khōrai*, such as the Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios between the territories of Akraiphia and Thebes, or the sanctuary of Poseidon Onchestos, which straddled Guillon's 'two Boiotias' (Figure 2). The prominence of Onchestos in Homer, the *Homeric hymns*, and the mythology of the disputes between Thebes and Orchomenos, may suggest its early importance, while its later political role for the Boiotian *koinon* was also tied up with its key geographical position.⁵¹ As Beck and Funke have argued, it was an inherent quality of such liminal sanctuaries to act as nodes of trans-local interaction that provided the members of a group with a hub for non-violent cooperation, exchange, and, effectively, the construction of 'aggregative identities'.⁵² This integration was partly achieved through the

Delphi to mid- to late-sixth century - Larson, 2007a, 101-103 - but the reading is not universally accepted – see for example Marchand, *BMCR* 2010.1.26.

⁴⁹ Homer's Minyans occupy a smaller territory than that of Mycenaean Orchomenos, suggesting that Homer is recording the Dark Age reality - Kirk, 1985, 198 - or that of the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century BC - Schachter, 2014, 69. Schachter suggests the lack of Theban dominance in Homer suggests a window between the Mycenaean and the sixth century - Schachter, 2014, 70. The separation of Orchomenos and the *Boiōtoi* is interpreted either as the preservation of the Mycenaean glory of Orchomenos - Kirk, 1985, 198; or as an affirmation of Orchomenian independence from the rest of Boiotia in the Archaic period - Schachter, 2016, 146-147.

⁵⁰ Importance of common origin - Hall, 1997, 25. Buck, 1979, 65-66, argues that the arrangement of the forces in the *Iliad*'s 'Little Catalogue' (13.685-700) reflects pre-migration territories, with the Boiotians still living in Thessaly. This reads a lot into a simple deployment.

⁵¹ Ganter, 2013, 100 and n.79. On the local myths as a reflection of the importance of ownership of Onchestos for hegemonic ambitions, see Ganter, 2013, 100; Kühr – 2006, 289-291. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (229-230) - dated to ca.585BC by Janko, 1982, 116-132. See also *Hymn to Hermes* (ll.87-88, 186-187, 190); Erginos and Herakles myths: Apoll. *Bibl.* 2.67; Diod. Sic. 4.18; Eur. *HF* 47-50, 220; Paus. 9.37-38; Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 95; Polyainos 1.3.5.

⁵² Beck and Funke, 2015, 25. Aggregative identities – see Hall, 1997, 47-50. I examine the role of these sanctuaries in *ethnos* creation in Chapter One.

social networking of the local *polis* aristocracies and their competition at regional games, or the celebration of common cults and festivals.⁵³

As well as these ‘aggregative’ modes of *ethnos* formation, during the sixth century BC the ‘oppositional’ mode – that of the strong recognition of an in-group through the existence of an (often hostile) out-group – also played a key role in the crystallization of Boiotian identity.⁵⁴ This closer unity would eventually evolve into the federal Boiotian *koinon*, arguably following the Battle of Koroneia ca.447BC, the co-operation in an *ethnos* and the political integration into a *koinon* being arguably two sides of the same coin.⁵⁵ The federal nature of the *koinon* is central to this thesis. Studies on Boiotian ethnogenesis have tended, for obvious methodological reasons, to stress the common denominators of collective Boiotian identity, such as myths of common descent, shared cults, and dialect, such things being central to group cohesion. I wish to argue that Boiotian identity as a totality can only be effectively understood if it acknowledges the federal nature of the Boiotian political system, and the independent nature of the Boiotian *poleis*. Pericles himself alluded to this fractious identity, if we take as his own the words attributed to him by Aristotle, concerning the belligerent Boiotians (*Rhetoric* 3.4):

καὶ εἰς Βοιωτοὺς, ὅτι ὅμοιοι τοῖς πρίνοις: τοὺς τε γὰρ πρίνους ὑφ’ αὐτῶν κατακόπτεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους μαχομένους

And as for the Boiotians, they are like holm-oaks; for just as holm-oaks destroy one another, so too do the Boiotians with their in-fighting.

Strong local identity and division was as much a part of Boiotian identity as unity, and I am constantly reminded when considering the Boiotians of a Bedouin proverb which Bruce Chatwin records in his meditation on the human migratory spirit, *The Songlines*:

I against my brother,
I and my brother against our cousin,
I, my brother, and our cousin against the neighbours

⁵³ Beck and Funke, 2015, 24-25. On the role of these games in *ethnos* creation, see Chapter Two below – especially 2.3.

⁵⁴ On the importance of the out-group in the creation of group identity, see Hall, 1997, 47. As Goldhill states, in looking for local identity, we must consider against what identity the localness is being defined – Goldhill, 2010, 49.

⁵⁵ Beck and Funke, 2015, 25.

All of us against the foreigner⁵⁶

Inscriptional evidence presents a widespread picture of unrest during the Archaic period, especially between the two mutually antagonistic groups of the traditional Homeric ‘*Boiōtoi*’ on one side - located south of Kopais and extending from Koroneia east to Thebes and Tanagra – and Orchomenos and her allies on the other.⁵⁷ Theban expansion into Orchomenian territory at the end of the sixth century BC is suggested by an inscription on a bronze shin-guard dedicated at Olympia recording the defeat by Thebes over the Orchomenian ally Hyettos (*SEG* 24.300), while Orchomenos’ dominance of the western sphere may be suggested in a number of mythological accounts.⁵⁸ More convincingly, a late sixth-century BC dedication of a helmet at Olympia – now in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens – gives evidence of a conflict involving Orchomenos at Koroneia (*SEG* 11.1208; *LSAG* 93+95, no.11):⁵⁹

Ἐρχομένιοι ἀνέθει|αν τῷ Δι τῷ Ὀλυνπίοι | φορόνεια[ν ἡλώντες].

Orchomenos set this up for Olympian Zeus having taken Koroneia.

Finally, two bronze shields, also dedicated at Olympia, attest to fighting involving Tanagra, one recording a Tanagran victory and the other a victory *over* Tanagra, although neither preserves the name of Tanagra’s opponent.⁶⁰ While caution needs to be exercised in reconstructing the big picture, we are certainly witnessing inter-Boiotian strife.⁶¹ Unified Boiotia was an uneasy amalgam of fiercely independent *poleis*, none of whom wished to be dominated by any other, and any account of Boiotian identity which does not reflect this uneasy amalgam is incomplete.

⁵⁶ Chatwin, 1988, 224.

⁵⁷ Beck, 2014, 28, c.f. Demand, 1982, 18-19. Beck sees in the embryonic Theban core-region those cities which Thebes considered their ‘nearest’, in Herodotus 5.79. It was at this time that Boiotians were involved in the foundation of Herakleia Pontike on the Black sea – the only example of Boiotian participation in overseas settlement save for a small consignment at Thurii – and which may be a sign of local conflict and tension - Mackil, 2013, 25; Herakleides Pontikos fr. 2 (Wehrli); Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 44; Ps.-Scymn. 1016–19 (Diller); Thurii - Diod. Sic. 12.11.3. 2.846; Paus. 5.26.7; Justin 16.3.4–6.

⁵⁸ See also Hansen and Nielsen, 2004 no.207; Étienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 217–18. Farinetti, 2011, 114, relies on the sources gathered by Buck, 1979, 97 for examples of Orchomenian dominance – for example, Orchomenian control of Hyettos is suggested through the Argive hero Hyettos being received at Orchomenos before setting out to found his own city - Hesiod *fr.* 195 Most 257 MW; Pausanias 9.36.6; Wilamowitz, 1922, 19.

⁵⁹ Jeffery, 1990, 93, 95, no. 11, dates the inscription to ca. 550-525 BC on the basis of letter forms.

⁶⁰ *SEG* 11.1202; Jeffery, 1990, 95 no. 12; Lazzarini, 1976, 316 no. 958; and *SEG* 15.245; Lazzarini, 1976, 317 no. 968; Étienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 215–18.

⁶¹ We do not know what the Tanagrans were up to, nor even necessarily whom Orchomenos was fighting, and Mackil has suggested that the helmet at Olympia might even refer to a battle at Koroneia rather than against the Koroneians, with perhaps the Thebans as the opposition - Mackil, 2013, 25.

At the end of the sixth century BC the Boiotians were already a recognizable collective, acknowledged as such by the outside world. In ca.507/506BC, following disputes on the Boiotian-Attic border, Herodotus informs us that the Boiotians and Chalkidians came to the aid of the invading Spartans under Kleomenes.⁶² Following their victory over the invading Boiotian force, the Athenians set up on the Acropolis a dedication of a chariot with four horses made of bronze with a tenth of the ransom demanded for the release of the seven hundred Boiotian captives, for which two lacunose inscriptions have been found, and for whose reconstruction we can rely on Herodotus, who quoted the dedication verbatim.⁶³

[δεσμῶι ἐν ἀχνύνεντι(?) σιδερέοι ἔσβεσαν ἡύβ]ριν : / παῖδε[ς Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐμ πολέμο]
[ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες] : / τῶν ἡίππος δ[εκάτεν Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν]

With iron bands the sons of the Athenians vanquished their pride by deeds in battle, when they defeated the Boiotians and Chalkidians, from whom they dedicated these horses to Pallas Athena as a tithe

Here the Boiotians are described as an *ethnos*, a group, one (so Mackil suggests) unified by a common identity and by concerted action on the part of its multiple *poleis*, if not by any formally institutionalized political structure.⁶⁴ These actions against the Athenians, alongside their later Medism, did little to ingratiate the Boiotians to their immediate neighbours.⁶⁵ Within a decade or so of the Persian War Pindar was trying, without success, to free his fellows from what was already an ‘age old reproach’ (ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος) of ‘Boiotian pig’ (Βοιωτίαν ὕν), a reputation for stupidity and gluttony which would haunt the Boiotians into Roman times.⁶⁶ The

⁶² 5.74-77.

⁶³ IG I³ 501 is the original, found on the Athenian acropolis and now in the Epigraphical Museum (inv. 6286); IG I² 394 (inv.6287, 6287a, 12410), the replacement monument, ca. 457 BC, was the one seen by Herodotus and quoted at 5.77.4. See Mackil, 2013, 411-412; Beck and Ganter, 2015, 137.

⁶⁴ Mackil prefers a military and economic collective, with the *koinon per se* not in existence until 447BC and the Battle of Koroneia – Mackil, 2013, 28.

⁶⁵ The Boiotians were also a prosecutable group. A bronze tablet from Olympia, dated to ca. 476–472BC, has been tentatively taken as the refinement of a previous action taken against the Boiotians and Thessalians following the Persian War, possibly for violating the Olympic peace of 480BC. Mackil, 2013, 32 and 414; Siewert, 1977, 463 n.4 (SEG 26.475); Siewert, 2006, 46 no. 2 (SEG 31.358). The exact details of the affair remain nebulous and different interpretations abound – see for example Schachter, 2016, 60, Sordi 1993, 25-32, Mackil, 2013, 32; Beck and Ganter, 2015, 139-140. Minon, 2007, 104–112 offers an in-depth discussion on the date and circumstances.

⁶⁶ *Olympian* 6.89-90. Dated ca.471/468BC see Race, 1997, 103. The fifth-century Athenian comic poet Cratinus called the Boiotians σοφοβοιωτοί – ‘pig-Boiotians’ (fr. 310); Plato disparaged Boiotia as a place where μὴ σοφοὶ λέγειν – ‘no wise men speak’ (*Symposium* 182b); Mnesimachos, in his Bousiris has Herakles, the Theban hero par excellence, flaunting his Boiotianness to emphasise his gluttony and stupidity: εἰμὶ γὰρ Βοιωτίος, ὀλίγα μὲν λαλῶν [...] πολλὰ δ’ ἐσθίων ‘I am a Boiotian, saying little [...] but eating lots’ (fr.2 = Athen. *Deipn.* 10.417e);

Boiotians, of course, held a very different view, not just of their own character, but also of the political and historical events in which they had been involved. The Acropolis inscription from 506BC, for example, which Herodotus recorded, had a Theban equivalent, set up by an unknown group, which emphasised a different aspect of the tale.⁶⁷ This inscription (Figure 7), found on the base of a column drum (*kioniskos*) unearthed in Thebes in 2001, and which Aravantinos has explained as an effort to put a brave face on what was a humiliating defeat, records the Boiotian victories in the campaign; a list slightly different to that recorded by Herodotus, mentioning victories at Oinoe and Phyle (*SEG* 54.518):⁶⁸

[— — — —]ος Φοινόας καὶ Φυλᾶς
 [— — — —] ἡελόντες κέλευσῖνα {καὶ Ἐλευσῖνα} /
 [— — —]αι Χαλκίδα λυσαμενοι
 [— — —]μοι ἀνέθειαν.

[...] Oinoe and Phyle [...] and taking Eleusis [...] and Chalkis, ransomed [...] dedicated.

This Theban perspective reminds us that there was always an internal point of view, a view from the inside as it were. It is this inside-view, especially as concerns a collective internal identity, which I am interested in uncovering here.⁶⁹ But what we lack are authoritative contemporary voices from inside Boiotia. Hesiod predates the sixth-century BC Theban push for Boiotian unity – what Kowalzig calls ‘Project Boiotia’ – and shows no interest in Boiotian identity.⁷⁰ Only Pindar provides a window onto Boiotian identity in the actions and interests of his clientele, the aristocratic elite, such as the family of Aioladas who were keen to be seen

Heraklides Kritikós tells us that the ‘shortcomings of all Greece flowed down into the cities of Boiotia’ and ends with a fragment of Pherekrates: ἥνπερ φρονῆς εὖ, φεῦγε τὴν Βοιωτίαν ‘If you’re smart, get out of Boiotia’ (*FGrH* 369a F1.25); while in the second century AD Plutarch reported that in his own day the people of Attica still considered the Boiotians ‘thick and stupid and foolish, especially on account of their gluttony’ - παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἡλιθίους, μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀδηφαγίας (*De esu carniū*, 1.6 [1995e]).

⁶⁷ Aravantinos, 2006, 374. Some scholars now distance the dedication from the war of 506 BC and date it to 490 or 480/79 BC - Krentz for example posits that when Athens was distracted by Aigina in 490 BC, the Thebans took the field against Athens yet again and it is this action which the *kioniskos* commemorates - Krentz, 2007, 738 n20; Figueira, 2010, 200, dates it to 480/479 BC; cf. Meiggs and Lewis *GHI* 15.

⁶⁸ Aravantinos, 2006, 376. Herodotus tells us that Boiotia took Oinoe and Hysiai (5.74) while this inscription replaced Hysiai with Phyle. Aravantinos suggests that λυσαμένοι (l.3) may be linked to the ransoming of Boiotian and Chalkidian captives mentioned by *IG* I³ 501 and Herodotus (5.77.4), and that the dedicators may have been involved in that action - Aravantinos, 2006, 374. Is it possible then that it was dedicated by the ransomed men?

⁶⁹ The changing focus on identities within Boiotia, often reflected in the use of ‘Thebans’ for ‘Boiotians’ in the sources, is touched upon in this thesis – see especially Chapter Two.

⁷⁰ Only the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (24) mentions the Boiotians. ‘Project Boiotia’ – Kowalzig, 2007, 355.

competing on a wider Boiotian stage.⁷¹ Visibility was of central importance, and it is the intersection of self-promotion and identity which is key to the arguments of this thesis. Literary evidence is lacking on how the Boiotians saw themselves during the centuries between Pindar and Plutarch.⁷² If we wish to understand anything of the complexities of internal Boiotian identity during this period, then we need to understand how they promoted themselves to the outside world, the simple argument being that those cults and events which the Boiotians chose to promote to the wider world through agonistic competition – whose openness to foreigners innately invited publicity – ought to represent those cultural and historical markers of which the Boiotians themselves were most attached. The Boiotian *agōnes*, understood in this way, are a window into Boiotian identity.

I.3 Historiography of Boiotian Identity

W. Rhys Roberts (1895) was the first work dedicated exclusively to matters of Boiotian identity; a spirited defence of the Boiotians from their unfortunate classical reputation.⁷³ Since the late nineteenth century Boiotian studies have been dominated by the French, with a particularly strong tradition of archaeology and epigraphy, with contributions on the Ptoion by Holleaux (1890), Bizard (1903 and 1920), with Guillon (1943) and Ducat (1971) cementing the Ptoion's standing as Boiotia's most famous sanctuary; and studies on Thespias by Jamot (1902) Plassart (1926), culminating in Paul Roesch's comprehensive *Les Inscriptions de Thespies* (2007). Louis Robert and Denis Knoepfler have dominated the field of French epigraphy and have written extensively on inscriptions linked to Boiotian *agōnes*.⁷⁴ Archaeological fieldwork has continued apace throughout the century, such as the work of

⁷¹ Korinna deals with mythological subjects and her local Tanagra. Her dating is unclear. Schachter's recent summary of the evidence suggests a *terminus post quem* of the third quarter of the fifth century BC, and a *terminus ante quem* of the third or fourth quarter of the fourth century BC – Schachter, 2016, 239. See also West, 1990, 555.

⁷² Internal views of Boiotian history are lacking, save for the fifth-century BC Armenidas, the oldest epichoric writer of Boiotian history, who may have come from Thebes, but whose fragments reveal nothing contemporary; and the fourth-century BC Aristophanes, fragments of whose *Boiotika* and *Theban Annals* contain some historical (as opposed to legendary) accounts of Thebes and Tanagra, but whose mention of Theban boorishness (*BNJ* 379 F 5) have led some to doubt his Boiotian pedigree – see Schachter, *s.v.* “*Armenidas* (378)” and “*Aristophanes of Boiotia* (379)”, *BNJ*; Fowler, 2013, 639.

⁷³ Rhys Roberts' characterization of the Boiotians as the ‘Dutchmen of Greece’, is a parallel lost to most modern readers. Previous German dominated scholarship had focussed almost exclusively on Hesiod, Pindar, and Thebes, with notable exceptions like Karl Otfried Müller's *Orchomenos und die Minyer* (1844).

⁷⁴ See for example Knoepfler on the Erotideia (1997), the Romaia at Thebes (2004), the Basileia (2008).

Bintliff with the Leiden-Ljubljana Ancient Cities of Boeotia project, with published works on the topography and geography of Boiotia by Fossey (1988), and Farinetti (2011).⁷⁵ Such works across a range of different fields have provided the material from which matters of identity may be discussed, but have not addressed the matter of Boiotian identity head on.

Schachter's monumental *Cults of Boiotia* (1981-1994) remains the standard reference for any investigation into Boiotian religion. The scope of the work, along with its structuring by cult recipient, leaves no room for discussion on the role of cults in the formation of Boiotian group identity; neither does Schachter address the question of whether Boiotia possessed a unique religious identity along the lines of that suggested, for example, for Arcadia by Jost (2007).⁷⁶ The question of a unique 'religious identity' is anyway technically meaningless unless it can be definitively linked to Boiotian self-consciousness.⁷⁷ As Osborne reflected in a review of the volume *Boiotika*, 'When the geographical unit is not also a political unit, or when the questions investigated are not of a political nature, we lose more than we gain from being made to limit our considerations to an effectively arbitrary slice of Greece.'⁷⁸ Patterns in cult, devoid of the question of self- or group-identity, remain 'effectively arbitrary'.⁷⁹

Following in the wake of Smith (1986) and Hall (1997; 2002), the role played by common religious cult and narratives of joint ethnic descent in the formation of Boiotian group identity (ethnogenesis) has been the subject of a number of studies, each following a distinct methodological path. The focus of Kühr (2006) is the Boiotian foundation myths and the evidence they provide for the divergent and, at times, competing narratives of heroic ancestry involved in *ethnos* creation.⁸⁰ Kühr demonstrates how genealogies, such as those of the Theban foundation myths, reveal evidence of the interactions between rival groups which underpin

⁷⁵ For the latest findings of the Ancient Cities of Boeotia project, see Bintliff, J. L. (2016).

⁷⁶ Jost, 2007, 278 emphasises a peculiar proclivity to wildness and animal transformations in the gods and myths of Arcadia. See also Jost, (1985). In his introduction Schachter states he offers no overview of Boiotian religious ideas - Schachter, 1981, xi. In two earlier papers - 'A Boiotian Cult Type?' (1967) and 'Some Underlying Cult Patterns in Boiotia' (1972) - Schachter came closer to providing such a thing, suggesting a Boiotian proclivity for underground oracular gods, dying boys, and female groups such as the Muses and Charites.

⁷⁷ '[O]ne can only be sure that a given trait or distinction enters into the construction of ethnic identity if it is verbalized as such' - Konstan, 1997, 100.

⁷⁸ Osborne, 1991, 142.

⁷⁹ Unless we wish to credit the ideas of Herder (1744-1803) and propose a shaping of physical and mental characteristics by the shared environment; in which case patterns in cult might suggest something more genetic. On the ideas of Herder see Hall, 1997, 7.

⁸⁰ Beck, 2014, 21.

eventual ideas of commonality.⁸¹ While focussing on Thebes, which played a dominant role in the push for a unified Boiotian *ethnos* in the sixth century BC, Kühr also emphasises the inseparability of *polis* and *ethnos* development in Boiotia, something more recently discussed by Beck (2014).⁸² Such a double-sided development of identity, and the inherent tension between the two levels, is central to the broader concept of Boiotian identity I am putting forward in this thesis. Kowalzig (2007) also places Thebes at the centre of the sixth-century *ethnos* creation, examining the role of Theban cult songs – specifically those of Pindar – in the development of a unified Boiotian tradition.⁸³ Kowalzig traces the process through which Theban hegemonic ambitions were expressed through the commandeering of wider Boiotian traditions and mythologies into the Theban mythological system, and the role of choral performances and rituals in creating a unified Boiotian tradition especially linked to the idea of a migration from Thessaly.⁸⁴ The key role of such performances in the spreading of new ideas is arguably overplayed: one wonders, for example, about the wider propaganda potential of choral rituals whose participants were surely predominately local, such as the Theban Daphnephoria.⁸⁵ Against Kowalzig, Stehle has remarked that in polytheistic Greece, one annual public religious event did not create a strongly-defined supra-*polis* community; a festival was more like a fair.⁸⁶ Yet as I will argue in the first two chapters of this thesis, the interactions of aristocratic elites at common – especially liminal – sanctuaries *does* provide a clear framework for the sort of communal interaction which lay behind Boiotian group formation.

Larson (2007b) focuses on the role played by traditions of epic pedigree and the belief in a migration from Thessaly in the development of the Boiotian *ethnos*. It was these common beliefs, so Larson argues, that constituted the formation of what she terms a ‘loose *ethnos*’, which during the late Archaic and early Classical period was characterized by the absence of any kind of military or political organization.⁸⁷ Larson gives evidence of numerous markers of unity in which she sees evidence of ‘epic ancestry’, from the common coinage displaying the

⁸¹ Kühr (2006), with Freitag (2010) – the latter a collective review of Kühr 2006, Kowalzig 2007, and Larson 2007b.

⁸² Kühr, 2006, 367-371; see Freitag, 2010, 1109. Beck, 2014, 33.

⁸³ Kowalzig, 2007, 330; Ganter, 2013, 89 n.21.

⁸⁴ See Beck, 2014, 33; Seaford, *BMCR* 2008.09.25; Mackil, 2013, 151.

⁸⁵ I will discuss the Daphnephoria in Chapter Two – see especially 2.4.

⁸⁶ Stehle, 2009, 347.

⁸⁷ ‘Loose *ethnos*’ - Larson, 2007b, 189.

cut-out shield (Figure 5) which Larson links to epic and the figures of Ajax and Achilles, to the legendary founder-hero Boiotos, and the development of a self-consciously epic dialect.⁸⁸ To my mind the link to the Aiginetan heroes is overplayed and rather strange: when considering Boiotia, Ajax and Achilles are not figures who spring naturally to mind despite Boiotia's close links with Aigina (Larson's discussion of the Boiotian shield as a symbol of trade is more convincing).⁸⁹ Equally, despite Larson's efforts, it is difficult to imagine the importance of the mythical founder Boiotos to the average Boiotian. Freitag has dismissed the hero as 'merkwürdig farblos' – strangely colourless – a late creation of the newly self-conscious *ethnos*.⁹⁰ No cult exists for him; he is an empty character haunting genealogies who finds substance only on the Athenian stage.⁹¹ More importantly, his formlessness means that we lose sight of agency, of any real connection between the eponymous founder and his people.⁹² Larson has clearly uncovered a strand of the complex web of interactions and beliefs which constituted Boiotian group identity, but as a force for group cohesion, religious and cult interaction – something on which Larson has little to say – must surely have played the dominant role.⁹³

In a more recent paper, Ganter (2013) presents a more nuanced picture of the development of Boiotian ethnogenesis through cult interaction, suggesting that the story of unification through participation in common cults has to take into account the differing nature of the interactions at each site across time, and the different roles played by each in the generation of a unified identity.⁹⁴ Her focus on cult interaction over other *criteria* and *indicia* (dialect, myths of common descent etc.), gives a more nuanced view, closer to the 'uneasy

⁸⁸ Mackil, 2009, 197.

⁸⁹ Marchand, 2010, has questioned the close link between cut-out shields and Achilles and Ajax, pointing out the use of the shield by Amazons and even Herakles, as Larson herself notes at 2007a, 80. Mackil, 2009, 197, berates Larson's failure to examine the economic motives for a common coinage and decries her having little to say on the religious life of the Boiotians. On links of Boiotia and Aigina, see for example Hdt. 5.80. Here the link is solidly Theban, and again one must bear in mind that the symbol of the cut-out shield may have had special meanings within Thebes which were lacking elsewhere in Boiotia. This should serve as a warning against simplistic understandings of communal identity without analysis of local identities.

⁹⁰ Freitag, 2010, 1112.

⁹¹ In Euripides' *Melanippe Desmotis* and *Melanippe Sophe*.

⁹² Agency and self-consciousness are key points in investigating identity. As Berman notes for Larson's argument for the epic proportions of the Boiotian dialect - 'it is difficult to accept the contention that the Boeotian dialect's epic characteristics reflect Boeotians' conscious efforts to relate their identity to the epic past without the *caveat* that evidence from verse, especially verse treating mythic themes, will naturally show epic traits' – Berman, 2009, 511.

⁹³ On lack of religion in Larson, see Mackil, 2009, 197.

⁹⁴ Ganter, 2013, 101.

amalgam' which truly characterized Boiotian interaction. While Ganter accepts the need to take Larson's 'tales of epic ancestry' into account when examining the forces behind Boiotian cohesion, such kinship ties, she argues, were late inventions and do not in themselves explain why and how certain groups came together.⁹⁵ That process was achieved through participation in cults, convincingly regarded as nucleus of group formation: religious integration was realized by participating in said rituals and adapting the pantheon.⁹⁶

The depth and breadth of analysis, the conceptual expertise, and the methodological skill displayed in these recent works, so Beck has recently commented, make it difficult to foster an innovative research contribution to the topic of Boiotian ethnogenesis.⁹⁷ It is therefore unsurprising that subsequent scholarship has retreated slightly from issue of *ethnos* identity towards more multivalent studies of group formation. Mackil (2013) offers an in-depth analysis of the complex mechanics of *ethnos* formation at a number of levels, focussing on the federal Boiotian *koinon*, and those of Achaia and Aitolia; while Beck and Ganter (2015), offer a useful summary of the development and history of the Boiotian *koinon* down to the time of Rome. This deviation towards the federal is of great interest as regards this thesis. As I argued above, studies of ethnogenesis, by their very nature, highlight what is common in identity, providing a necessarily one-sided view. But in a federal state such as Boiotia (where to a degree unseen in non-federal regions, the development of strong local *polis* identities was an undeniable part of the whole), any understanding of collective identity needs to take into account this diversity within the unity. Boiotian identity was an uneasy amalgam of the local and the communal; a true reflection of the federal *koinon*. Schachter, in his recent *Boiotia in Antiquity* (2016), has described the political entity of the federation as at best a compromise, and, like all compromises, something which represents a failure to bury particular differences in the interests of a higher unity.⁹⁸ This 'failure to bury particular differences' need not, however, be seen as wholly negative, but rather as evidence of a continued strong self-identity of the member *poleis*. The situation is reminiscent of the form of federation which Beck and Funke describe for the multi-ethnic states such as India, Belgium, and Spain, whose political co-operation nevertheless protects the character, interests, and independence of their different

⁹⁵ Ganter, 2013, 85; Freitag, 2007, 378 and 382. See also Jones, 1999, 273 (contra Hall).

⁹⁶ Ganter, 2013, 86.

⁹⁷ Beck, 2014, 22.

⁹⁸ Schachter, 2016, 17.

ethnic communities.⁹⁹ In Boiotia, each *polis* remained strongly independent, with its own myths, cults, and festivals, while still contributing to the collective. Given such a state of affairs, it is surely of interest that in his recent study of the dedications of the *Boiōtoi*, ‘Ethnic Identity and Integration in Boeotia: The Evidence of the Inscriptions’ (2014), Beck has pointed to the fact that in dedications, the *polis* ethnics first appear around the very same time as the collective ethnic, something which speaks of the emergence of local communities (with a very strong sense of developing local identities), in tandem with the move to regional unity, the two processes being interwoven and mutually interdependent.¹⁰⁰ This is a strong argument why in matters of Boiotian identity the local and divergent need to be assessed alongside the regional and communal; they are two sides of the same coin.

Lastly, Beck and Funke (2015) have emphasised that in the well-formed federal state, engagement in economic, cultural, linguistic, juristic, and genuine political negotiations are required by member states to maintain the federal equilibrium.¹⁰¹ In Boiotia, this cultural engagement took the form of participation in common festivals (such as the Daidala at Plataia for example), and in agonistic competition (such as the Pamboiotia at Koroneia).¹⁰² Here the interactions of the aristocratic elite at the various *agōnes* were a point of negotiation between the different levels of the federal institution. Müller (2014) argues that it was such common festivals, especially those associated with agonistic games, which allowed the continuation of a unified Boiotian identity during the early Roman period, when the political and military power of the Boiotian *koinon* had been taken away, and which made possible its eventual quasi-political revival at the end of the first century BC.¹⁰³ Here agonistic competition and regional identity once again overlap in a remarkable way, reiterating the central argument of this thesis that it is only through a thorough examination of the agonistic Boiotian festivals that we can obtain a full and living picture of Boiotian identity.

⁹⁹ Mackil, 2013, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Beck, 2014, 33.

¹⁰¹ Beck and Funke, 2015, 1. In a sense, collective identity became the out-group against which the *polis* in-groups became realized.

¹⁰² For the Daidala see 7.5 below.

¹⁰³ Müller, 2014, 130-136, and 5.3 below.

I.4 Why Games? Towards a Methodology

Beck's observation that in Boiotia, local and regional identity seem to have developed in tandem, interwoven, emphasises the importance of any approach which brings these two aspects into close focus; as he states, the real challenge is to craft a narrative that pays full homage to the simultaneity of these multiple layers of integration.¹⁰⁴ It is the evidence of agonistic competition which provides our best opportunity for crafting just such an ongoing narrative.

During the Roman period, Van Nijf and Williamson have suggested that *agōnes* became the hub of a complex network of relationships, with the traditional horizontal dimension (bringing cities and individuals together in competition with one another) being given an added vertical dimension – a relation to Rome.¹⁰⁵ While true of the Roman period, there is every reason to believe that this observation holds true for earlier periods of agonistic history as well. Using a slightly different model, it might be imagined that the Boiotian *agōnes* provided the stage for the expression of ambition and identity at several levels concurrently, and fostered relations between these layers. At their most simple, games were an opportunity for the display of ambition by competitors, but it is the role of the elites with whom I am most interested, those who had been the original competitors but were later more usually found as *agōnothetai* or festival organizers, and whose *apologias* (statements of final accounts, usually recording the monies spent and sometimes the victors) make up a substantial proportion of our evidence.¹⁰⁶ It was the promotion through games of local cults by these elites which provides the evidence of agency so lacking in the *criteria* and secondary *indicia* linked to ethnogenesis.¹⁰⁷ It had been elite interaction, often at agonistic festivals, that had played an important role in the creation of a unified Boiotia during the Archaic period.¹⁰⁸ Participation in these early agonistic festivals had been an exclusively elite occupation, because only the wealthy had the means to enter

¹⁰⁴ Beck, 2014, 36. Beck is referring to *ethnos* creation; this study will look also at the combining of the local and regional in the continued development of Boiotian identity.

¹⁰⁵ Van Nijf and Williamson, 2015, 108.

¹⁰⁶ Common festivals were an important *locus* of elite self-expression and status, and this was particularly true of those with an agonistic component, where this status could be reinforced by victories. This was especially true of victories at Olympia or Delphi – see Hornblower and Morgan, 2007, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Such acts were clearly important to ethnogenesis, but they remain faceless and without substance, like Boiotos himself. On *criteria* and *indicia*, see Hall, 1997, 21-22; 2002, 9; Horowitz, 1975, 119-120.

¹⁰⁸ See above, Chapters One and Two *passim*. As will be recalled from Pindar's *Daphnephorikon* for Agasikles, it was especially in regards to their successes at local games that the aristocratic family of Aioladas were celebrated by their neighbours, the networks thus created being thought to have played an important role in the creation of the Boiotian *koinon*.

horses and chariots into competition; as for athletics, only the elites possessed the leisure required for physical training, whose original military purpose – which Pindar continued to praise - became instead a sign of aristocratic status.¹⁰⁹ It was this Panhellenic dimension – the idea of *agōnes* as characteristically Greek - which was to mark the *agōnes* out for the particular importance they were to play during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹¹⁰

In addition to the broadly aristocratic and Hellenic, through their link to local cult *agōnes* became the *locus* of expression of local *polis* identity, and by extension, regional identity, capable of promoting each of these on a truly international stage. As König states, with the huge expansion of festivals in the Hellenistic world resulting from the increasing growth in regular contact between the different cities, festivals became increasingly attractive vehicles for displaying communal identity to the world outside.¹¹¹ Such promoted communal identities, I would suggest, could be local, regional, and Panhellenic at one and the same time. Yet it must be remembered that the driving force of these ‘communal’ identities was always the elite, at least on this agonistic stage. One might almost speak of ‘elite communal identities’ in as much as it remains unclear how much these games and festivals affected the beliefs and identities of the general citizenry. But to imagine that they had no effect would be disingenuous: Schachter has suggested that the understanding of Zeus Basileus as the Boiotian Zeus *outside* Boiotia (as opposed to Zeus Karaios *inside* Boiotia) reflects the efficacy of the ideas and meanings transmitted through the games such as the Basileia at Lebadeia to their non-Boiotian visitors.¹¹² It is probable that such festivals therefore fostered collective ideas of identity to the local participants at all levels of society, even if it was the elite who were the driving force.

¹⁰⁹ Remijsen, 2015, 254; see also König, 2005, 23; Golden, 1988, 142-144. Pindar on military – König, 2005, 58. While the introduction of hoplite tactics led to this direct link being weakened (the disparity between the practices of the gymnasium and the necessary skills of the citizen soldier being often mocked in later literature), the games remained an important *locus* of elite activity nonetheless, and the roles of *gymnasiarch* and *agōnothetēs* – head of the gymnasium and festival president, responsible for providing year round facilities and festival funding respectively – were among the most prestigious public duties to which wealthy men and women could aspire - Golden, 1998, 25-28; König, 2005, 27-28. König notes the disparity in literature as seen for example in Galen, Lucian and Anacharsis - see König, 2005, 72-96.

¹¹⁰ König, 2005, 25. The link between athletics and Panhellenism went back to before the Classical period, with the Olympic festival granted Panhellenic status from the moment of its foundation in the eighth century BC through its role as the gathering point of the whole Greek speaking world. Panhellenic status was subsequently granted to the Nemean, Isthmian and Pythian games in the space of just ten years near the start of the sixth century BC. See Morgan, 1990, 212-23 for foundation of circuit.

¹¹¹ König, 2005, 27.

¹¹² Schachter, 1994, 112. See below at 2.6.

The Mouseia at Thespiai might once again be taken as an example of the many levels of identity expressed through the games. An inscription from Thespiai dated ca.225/220 or after 217BC (*IThesp* 156), records a decree of the Guild of Artists (*Technitai*) of Dionysus concerning the Mouseia and its status as a Crown Games (*stephanitēs*).¹¹³ From the inscription we learn that the *agōnothetēs* Hierokles of Thespiai, had been sent out to invite various Artistic Guilds and foreign states to accept the change in status. In their decree of acceptance, the *Technitai* praised the role of the *polis* of Thespiai and the Boiotian *koinon* for their involvement in the festival of the Muses, while mentioning their own role alongside the *polis* of Thespiai – τῇ τε πόλει Θεσπιέων καὶ αὐτοῖς - in the organization of the Mouseia - τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Μουσῶν (ll18-20). In this one document, we clearly witness the intersecting levels of organization and interest displayed at the Mouseia. Firstly, one cannot doubt the prestige gained by Hierokles amongst his aristocratic peers from the change of status to the festival under his tenure. Secondly, the celebration of these games was also a means of promoting local cult (the Muses) and thus the *polis* of Thespiai itself. In addition, the involvement of the *Technitai* reveals evidence of another group keen to promote themselves through the games, a group who were to have an important shaping effect on the nature and status of a number of Boiotian *agōnes* during the Hellenistic period, which in itself shaped Boiotian agonistic identity.¹¹⁴ We learn from this and other inscriptions (*IThesp* 154 and 157) that the Boiotian *koinon* played an important role in the organization of the games. This involvement of the scattered Boiotian *poleis* in the organization of the Mouseia speaks of the fact that these local games were of importance to the wider *koinon* as an expression of shared Boiotian identity, while through the sending out of *theoroi* and the arrival of competitors, this local and regional Boiotian prestige was promoted across the wider Greek world.¹¹⁵ Finally, the interest in the *agōn* of the Mouseia by Hellenistic Kings and Queens (*IThesp* 62, 152-154) represents an early equivalent to

¹¹³ For the role of the Dionysiac Artists in the festival, see Aneziri, 2007, 71-72. For dates see Roesch, *IThesp* and discussion in Chapter Three. On the Guilds of *Technitai* see Chapter Three; see also Le Guen (2001) and Azerini (2007 and 2009).

¹¹⁴ As I will discuss in Chapter Three, it was through the agency of the *Technitai* that Boiotia came to be seen as something of an artistic hub, in contrast to their reputation for boorishness.

¹¹⁵ A decree of Haliartos ca.225BC (*SEG* 32.456) concerning a sacrifice to Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaïos and participation in the Ptoia in Akraiphia – to which I shall return in Chapter Three - suggests that at this time Haliartos provided funds towards the Mouseia (l.17-20). See Schachter, 1994, 164; *BCH* 60 (1936) 177.II.A 23-27 – consecration of funds to provide ox. Dated ca 235-230BC (*SEG* 32.456). On *theoroi*, see for example Gauthier, 1993, 226-227; Chaniotis, 1995, 151-163.

Rome's position on Van Nijf and Williamson's vertical axis, revealing how the games themselves could be the focus of international political ambitions and negotiations.¹¹⁶

A tacit assumption in the above argument is that prestige at the level of the elite, the *polis*, and the regional, was a function of the link with tradition, be that with the ancient cult of the Muses, or the tradition of the games themselves.¹¹⁷ *Agōnes* especially provided a constant opportunity for reiterating and celebrating cultural traditions, eventually becoming traditions themselves whose renewal and celebration was itself a link to a prestigious past. In this way, every act of inauguration of a new *agōn* linked to local cult – or the re-invention of a lapsed one – was an opportunity for re-negotiating present relationships at a number of levels through a creative engagement with a traditional past.¹¹⁸

One of the advantages of a diachronic study such as this is the opportunity it affords to view cultural phenomena across a large time-period, and to recognise broader and more enduring patterns in trends which are often understood as specific or local. The re-invention of the Boiotian *agōnes* is a case in point. While 'Archaism' and the 'Invention of Tradition' are concepts most usually associated with the coming of Rome and the cultural concerns of the 'Second Sophistic', the diachronic analysis suggests that such themes were continually present throughout the entire history of the Boiotian *agōnes*. In their seminal work *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), Hobsbawm and Ranger noted that 'traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented, thus alerting scholars to the 'constructedness' of seemingly unchanging traditions.¹¹⁹ The go-to example in the Classical

¹¹⁶ While the links with Hellenistic Kings were doubtless a source of prestige as well as money – Ptolemy and Arsinoe for example provided ample funds in the second half of the third century – the existence of Boiotian mercenaries in third-century Ptolemaic Egypt suggests that this relationship rested upon and bolstered certain political obligations and reciprocities. In a similar manner, the later Roman presence impelled the Greek cities to increasingly exploit spectacles and their corresponding festivals as instruments of cohesion and political influence, a development particularly evident in the festivals founded as early as the second and first centuries BC in honour of the goddess Roma, or for Roman officials, or in the rebranding of already existing games with additional Roman epithets, something I will discuss further in Chapter Five onwards. Aneziri, 2014, 424. Roma – Mellor 1975, 165-180; Gruen 1984, 177-179; Kantiréa 2007, 27-30. Roman officials – Plu. *Flam.* 16.4; Daux 1964; *IG XII 9* 233: festivals for Flamininus, and *SEG* 22.110.58; 37.135.2: festivals for Sulla.

¹¹⁷ While communal links to 'epic ancestry' was one mode of bolstering present identity through an association with a prestigious past, engagement with traditional ritual and cult, such as those celebrated at the heart of almost all Boiotian *agones* (apart from the later games attached to Rome) was another, and for us more visible method.

¹¹⁸ Something being presently studied by the Dutch National Research School in Classical Studies (Oikos) 'Anchoring innovation' project headed by Dr Ineke Sluiter – see <http://www.ru.nl/oikos/>.

¹¹⁹ By 'invented tradition' they referred to a set of practices, normally of a ritual or symbolic nature, which sought to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implied continuity with the past, and usually a suitably historic past – Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, 1; Van Nijf and Williamson,

world is the Spartan *agōgē* – the brutal training regime undergone by all male Spartan citizens - where the ephebic activity centred on the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is now accepted (despite Cicero’s claim that the Spartans were the only people to have lived for more than seven hundred years ‘with one and the same set of customs and unchanging laws’), to have been a Hellenistic and Roman creation.¹²⁰ Thus the Roman-period *agōgē* was an example of the Archaism which Kennell defines as the ‘self-conscious attempt to live the present in terms of the past’; allowing the Spartans to feel that they were still special and to maintain a meaningful place in the world.¹²¹ As Alcock (1993) has argued, the loss of freedom (*eleutheria*) was perceived by the Greeks themselves as the ‘end of an era’ with significant consequences for their historical self-appraisal, with the celebration of the independent Classical past, before the fall, only throwing the imperial present into deeper shadow.¹²²

The Greeks’ ‘celebration of the independent Classical past’ is a phenomenon usually classed as belonging to the cultural paradigm of the ‘Second Sophistic’, a term coined by Philostratus (ca.AD 170-250) in his *Lives of the Sophists* to refer to the appearance in the first century AD of a breed of orator whose philosophical and intellectual interests harked back to the golden age of Classical Greece, but which in modern scholarship is more often used as a blanket term (even as a ‘loose chronological category’ as Porter suggests) describing the interest of the Greeks under Rome in the glories of their classical past.¹²³ Originally interpreted as expressing dissatisfaction with the political weakness of Greece under Rome, or a rejection of Roman power and culture, more recent studies have emphasized the active role played by

2015, 97 – a criticism of the approach is that it is not always possible or useful to distinguish ‘invented’ traditions from ‘genuine’ or ‘authentic’ ones, and there has been a tendency to overestimate the importance of individual inventors.

¹²⁰ Cicero *Flacc.* 63. In fact several breaks and reforms are known: reforms by Agis IV (244-240BC) and Cleomenes III (235-222BC); lapse between 256BC and 146BC - Kennell, 1995, 6 and 13. There is no evidence before the late second century BC for the boys’ contests the *moa*, *keloia*, *deros*, *eubalkes*, *kaththetatorion*, and the *kunagetas*; and the earliest evidence of any ritual identifiable as an endurance contest comes from the Hellenistic phase, after its first revival - Kennell, 1995, 54 and 79; *Inst. Lac.* 40 (239 C-D). Lakonian dialect - so prominently used and present in numerous inscriptions between AD 130 and AD 300 - was no true continuation as such, but a Roman fiction, koine with Lakonian ornamentation Kennell, 1995, 91-9.

¹²¹ Kennell, 1995, 83; Cartledge and Spawforth, 1989, 210.

¹²² Alcock, 1993, 27-28.

¹²³ Schmitz points to the difficulty of producing a clear definition of the ‘Second Sophistic’ that is accepted by all scholars - Schmitz, 2014, 33. Highlights of the more recent scholarship on this period include Bowersock (1969); Bowie (1970); Bowersock (1974); Bowie (1982); Anderson (1993); Gleason, (1995); Swain (1996); Schmitz (1997), Goldhill ed. (2001), and Whitmarsh (2005); Swain, Harrison, and Elsner, eds. (2007); Swain (2007). ‘Second Sophistic’ as a loose chronological category - Porter, 2001, 90. Whitmarsh highlights the links of the earlier studies of the ‘Second Sophistic’, such as Rohde (1914), with a brand of Hellenic revivalism based on a model of post-industrial nationalism - Whitmarsh, 2013, 3.

such backward looking in cultural assimilation and the expression of Greek identity.¹²⁴ Recently, Whitmarsh has rejected the ‘Second Sophistic’ as a modern fantasy projected back on to the ancient world, and an impossible idealization of pure, untainted aristocratic Greek tradition, claiming that what we are *really* witnessing are local and tactical reactions to external circumstances, rather than an absolute paradigm of the spirit of the age.¹²⁵ This focus on the ‘local and tactical’ emphasises an *active* accommodation to external circumstances, and negates the early strand of pessimism which has often been an undercurrent of studies of the ‘Second Sophistic’, where the Greeks’ interest in their own past has too often been written off as a hapless form of ‘mere nostalgia’ – a nostalgia often viewed as the cultural weakness of a defeated people, or an escapist amnesia – rather than being appreciated as an active cultural strategy on the part of an unusual subject population.¹²⁶ Sophisticated memory studies now view such reversions to the past as *active* strategies of self-assertion, even of resistance to external interference.¹²⁷

Such a bolstering of the present through a link with the past is usually understood as a reaction against unfavourable external circumstances; something which ought to be more apparent when a rapid transformation of society occurs such as during the first few centuries under Rome.¹²⁸ But while the ‘Second Sophistic’ has been singled out for the self-consciousness with which these themes of perceived loss were addressed, alongside the *intensity* of the backward-looking, it ought to be remembered that nostalgia had always been a part of the Greek psyche; as Porter states, the ‘mythemes of decline, nostalgia, and irretrievable loss’ were not only a persistent feature of Greek writing but arguably one of its least recognized *conventions*.¹²⁹ Equally, there was probably no time or place that did not see an ‘invention of tradition’; the development of the *agōnes* in the later Hellenistic period, for example, might best be understood in the light of a process of invention, adaptation, and revision.¹³⁰ The

¹²⁴ Bowie, 1970, 17-9, 30, 37, 40-1 emphasised the nostalgia and dissatisfaction. For active role see Goldhill and Whitmarsh (2001); Whitmarsh, 2005, 23-40; Hussein, 2014, 152.

¹²⁵ Whitmarsh, 2013, 3.

¹²⁶ Alcock, 2002, 33 and 40.

¹²⁷ Alcock, 2002, 41. As Swain states, such interests reveal a sense of special confidence among these people who saw themselves as the rightful inheritors of the classical world – Swain, 1996, 8. Woolf, 1994, 135 highlights the ‘dynamic tension’ between Greek and Roman culture in the Greek East.

¹²⁸ Porter, 2001, 90.

¹²⁹ Porter, 2001, 91. One thinks, for example, of Hesiod’s races – *Op.* 109-201. Nostalgia and loss need not, of course, necessarily denote a pessimistic outlook. As Davidson has pointed out in his review of Swain (1996), ‘Despite its nostalgia, this was not an unassuming age. It was a true Greek renaissance that combined the sense of loss with the ambition to regain.’ – Davidson, 1997, 18-19.

¹³⁰ Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, 4; Van Nijf and Williamson, 2015, 98.

evidence for constant agonistic re-invention which this thesis provides suggests that the bisection of the Greek world into ‘before the arrival of Rome’ and ‘after the arrival of Rome’ need not be accepted as quite so rigid, and that the actions of the Greeks under Rome was simply a continuation of a long held pattern of creative self-expression wherein the elites used tradition, at least in part, as a means of furthering their own ambition and prestige. Van Nijf and Williamson’s ‘vertical dimension’ which linked the Greek elites to Rome might then be better be understood as an ever-present dimension representing the highest extent of possible elite ambition/prestige, and which I propose was integral to the development of Boiotian identity. That things under Rome were not quite so different as has been supposed is suggested by Pausanias’ statement that the Achaians at the beginning of the second century BC saw little difference between the domination of Macedonia and that of Rome (7.8.2). The history of the Greeks, and of Boiotia in particular, was one of continual change and negotiation, of forging an active path in the present through engagement with the traditional past. Archaism, so Porter states, was as old as the Archaic period itself.¹³¹

This thesis takes, as its primary material, epigraphic texts and literary accounts of Boiotian festivals, principally those of an agonistic nature. At its most basic, it can be read as a diachronic account of the history of Boiotian *agōnes*, viewed in the context of external historical and political events. Boiotian games have been the subject of a number of excellent studies: the epigraphic contributions of Louis Robert and Denis Knoepfler to the field are many; Moretti (1953) remains an important source; while Manieri (2007) provides a fully comprehensive analysis of those Boiotian games of a musical and dramatic nature.¹³² No account, however, exists of the complete history of Boiotian *agōnes* from their inception to their disappearance, or which seeks to examine agonistic trends.¹³³ This in itself justifies this present study. The major contribution of this thesis to Boiotian scholarship, however, is the complex and nuanced idea of Boiotian identity it constructs using the material evidence linked to festivals and *agōnes*, positing Boiotian identity as a dynamic construct linked especially with the actions of the elites. As with Whitmarsh’s dismissal of the ‘Second Sophistic’ as a universal paradigm in favour of the ‘local and tactical’, so too must the notion of a monolithic Boiotian identity be rejected, replaced with an understanding which reflects the reality of Boiotia’s

¹³¹ Porter, 2001, 91.

¹³² Knoepfler has written in detail on the Mouseia (1996), Erotideia (1997), Romaia (2004), and Basileia (2008).

¹³³ Trends which can be easily viewed in Table 2 in the Appendix.

federal nature, and the fierce independence of its member *poleis*; Boiotian identity must be seen as an uneasy amalgam of the actions and motives of each separate *polis* (and their elite), and of the differing contributions of the various games and festivals which varied individually and diachronically. As Ganter has argued for Boiotian ethnogenesis, only such a specific site by site analysis can give a correct picture of the complexity involved.¹³⁴

The material for study is primarily epigraphic, consisting of victor lists, *apologias* of *agōnothetai*, public decrees, letters to and from foreign powers, and individual dedications by competitors.¹³⁵ Recent studies of Boiotian identity have focused primarily on the *criteri*a and secondary *indicia* ('tales of epic ancestry', common dialect, etc.) of *ethnos* formation, which while doubtless central to Boiotian ethnogenesis, provide a one-sided, monolithic view of Boiotian identity which in many ways is complete by the end of the fifth century BC, and one in which agency remains for the most part invisible. In contrast, festivals and especially *agōnes* provide direct evidence of the actions and interests of real people, of *agōnothetai*, athletes, magistrates, and groups like the Dionysian *Technitai*, across almost a millennium. Such visible agents provide evidence for the self-consciousness so necessary in studies of identity. While impressive, the epigraphic record is of course incomplete. The difficulty in using this evidence, especially when considering the renewal and re-invention of games and festivals, is that it is often impossible to confidently identify breaks in the record as evidence of absence rather than absence of evidence; not every re-appearance in the epigraphic record is a re-invention. Changing practices of what was inscribed and when - what MacMullen has termed 'epigraphic habit' - must also be taken into account when analysing the evidence.¹³⁶ As Remijsen points out, one should always consider evolutions within the evidence alongside the evolution of the evidence itself: using the argument from silence, for example, for proving decline is dangerous, as the disappearance of evidence for a phenomenon does not automatically imply the disappearance of this phenomenon.¹³⁷ This *caveat* accepted, the agonistic epigraphy remains our single best source for evidence of agency linked to identity.

Literary sources are used alongside the epigraphic wherever they illuminate or add important data to this enquiry. This is especially true for the earlier periods of this study where

¹³⁴ Ganter, 2013, 101-102.

¹³⁵ Summarized in Table 1 in the Appendix.

¹³⁶ Remijsen, 2015, 10; MacMullen, 1982, esp. 244-46.

¹³⁷ Remijsen, 2015, 11 and 14.

inscriptional evidence is limited. Chapter Two, for example, focuses heavily on Pindar, whose odes and hymns give a window onto the aristocratic interests at the end of the Archaic and the beginning of the Classical period, and whose poetic recordings of the agonistic victories of his aristocratic clientele performed much the same function as the later inscriptional dedications. In Chapters Six and Seven Plutarch and Pausanias, while short of agonistic detail, provide an important contemporary source of information on religious festivals and provide internal and external evidence of what the Boiotians of the first and second centuries AD found important.

The organization of this thesis is strictly chronological, my interest being in the role played by festivals and *agōnes* in the development and continued expression of Boiotian identity, especially in the context of external political change. In Chapter One I will argue that interaction at collective cult sites was integral to the creation of a unified Boiotian identity during the Archaic period, and will consider the role of Thebes in this unification. In Chapter Two, I discuss the evidence from Pindar for the role of games in the expression of Boiotian identity amongst the aristocratic elite at the beginning of the Classical period, and will chart the continuing agonistic evidence down to the end of the Classical period. Chapter Three continues the chronological sweep through the Hellenistic period and discusses the *agōnes* as an expression of Boiotian identity on the wider Hellenic stage, arguing for the pivotal role of various groups such as the Dionysian *Technitai* in the development of a new and flourishing Boiotian agonistic identity. In Chapter Four I discuss the accommodation of Boiotia under Rome, and the continuing role played by the *agōnes* as a *locus* of expression of Boiotian identity following the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* ca.146BC. Chapter Five looks at the effects of the Mithridatic War and examines the uniquely Boiotian agonistic upturn which followed the actions of Sulla, and the role of a network of Boiotian elites in the continuation of the pan-Boiotian festivals and games. In Chapter six I discuss the agonistic and economic decline whose roots lay in the Roman Civil Wars, and the continuing role of prominent individuals such as Epameinondas of Akraiphia in the re-invention of the Boiotian *agōnes* of the first century AD. Finally, in Chapter Seven, I end my chronological survey with a discussion of the games from the second to fourth century AD, and discuss the movement away from the expressions of collective Boiotian identity to that of the local, using Pausanias as

evidence for the final ‘localization’ of Boiotian identity, especially as expressed through celebrations of local *ephēbeia*.¹³⁸

This thesis argues that as a form of promoting local cult and identity to a wider world, the Boiotian *agōnes* provide a unique view of those things which the Boiotians themselves thought important, allowing a picture of Boiotian self-identity to be built up in the almost total absence of internal evidence. In addition, as the nexus of a complex set of relationships, expressing elite prestige and identity at the level of the *polis*, but also in many cases that of the regional and Hellenic, taken together the Boiotian *agōnes* provide a nuanced picture of the complex reality of Boiotian identity – an identity which, while grounded in the unity of shared beliefs in a common descent and homeland – primary *criteria* – and the cult, dialect, and secondary *indicia* (each so exhaustively analysed in the recent works on ethnogenesis), also consisted of diversity, and which was expressed in Boiotia’s federal political nature and the infighting of its separate groups. Boiotian identity was ever an uneasy amalgam. Interaction at festivals and games was an important step in the creation of a unified Boiotian identity, and integral to its continuation under Rome, when devoid of political and military power, the Boiotians expressed themselves to the wider world through the medium of competition. Understood this way, the Boiotian *agōnes* provide our clearest view into the complexities of Boiotian identity as it developed and changed across a thousand years.

¹³⁸ The local, as this thesis will explain, had always been an important *locus* of identity within Boiotia. What I refer to in this period is merely an apparent shifting of emphasis away from the collective.

Chapter One: The Archaic Period (700-480BC)

Communities of Interaction and the *Boiōtoi*

1.1 Introduction

The modern visitor to Boiotia is immediately struck by two features of the landscape also emphasized by ancient authors such as Strabo and Pausanias: namely, the geographical self-containment of the region, and the visibility of many of the communities to each other.¹³⁹ Standing on the acropolis at Koroneia, the view opens out (Figure 9) past the site of the Sanctuary of Athena Itonia - so important for the later Boiotian *koinon* and home of the Boiotian-only games the Pamboiotia - across the vast basin of the now drained Lake Kopaïs, around whose shores the communities in western Boiotia sat like Plato's frogs around their pond, (visible to each other but to no one else), obscured by a ring of mountainous heights. To the east the Kopaïc basin is separated from the Teneric plain by the low straddle of Onchestos where the Sanctuary of Poseidon was located, and whose role in tying Guillon's 'two Boiotias' together was a feature of its physical position.¹⁴⁰ Standing at Onchestos the visitor stares down to the lake to the west, and to the east towards Thebes, while rising to the north is the Ptoion massif, home to another important Boiotian sanctuary, that of Apollo Ptoios, sitting a few kilometres above the *polis* of Akraiphia, and from which virtually the whole of Boiotia can be taken in at a glance. The Ptoion was a site of contention between Akraiphia and Thebes (which lay some 23km to the south) during the late sixth century, and in time marked the outmost boundary of the *khōra* of Thebes.¹⁴¹ One is struck by the physical proximity of the communities, of their visibility to each other, and the geographical inevitability of their interaction.

¹³⁹ Strabo for example mentions the plains of the interior as surrounded on the remaining sides by mountains at 9.2.15; Pausanias is most explicit on the visibility of communities in his account of the seizure of Plataia in 373BC (9.1.5-7), where the inter-visibility of Thebes and Plataia forms an important part of the narrative. See Gartland, 2016, 90-91.

¹⁴⁰ Guillon, 1948, 21.

¹⁴¹ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 136.

Such interaction often took the form of conflict as territorial boundaries were crystallized. But this conflict was just the most visible portion of a broader background of non-violent inter-community exchange, a ‘dense and dynamic network of interaction’ of trade, cult, and fighting which eventually gave rise to the Boiotian *ethnos*.¹⁴² The cult interactions which I examine in the present chapter represent just one modality of relationship responsible for the development of the Boiotian *ethnos*, but they were an important part, for which archaeology and epigraphy provide evidence of agency (lacking in other *criteria* and secondary *indicia*), often by the elites who by the very fact of their visibility are central to the arguments of this thesis. Such interaction often took the form of agonistic competition.

In this chapter I examine the Boiotian cult sites at which the interaction of a number of separate communities is attested, with the assumption that it was through the creation of such ‘communities of interaction’ that the Boiotian *koinon* itself developed, these cult sites being the *loci* of development of a common Boiotian identity.¹⁴³ A number of these key sites were located in liminal areas not strongly associated with any one *polis* (see Figure 2). Such liminal sanctuaries acted as nodes of trans-local interaction, providing groups with a hub for non-violent cooperation and exchange, important to the construction of what Beck and Funke call ‘aggregative identities’.¹⁴⁴ The sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, lying on the Ptoion massif between the territories of Akraiphia and Thebes, and that of Poseidon Onchestios, which straddled the eastern and western halves of Boiotia and lay on the limits of the *khōrai* of Haliartos and Thebes, both served as physical markers between these respective territories, and acted as nodes that facilitated the communication between them.¹⁴⁵ That both lay on the physical boundaries of the Theban *khōra* suggests that Thebes’ geographical position may itself have played a central role in the *polis*’ eventual dominant position in Boiotian affairs, or at the very least that it was well placed to act upon its hegemonic ambitions. But other non-liminal sites also played an important role in the creation of a unified *ethnos*, such as the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia, and that of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes. The differing roles played by each in the formation of a common Boiotia will be discussed below.

¹⁴² Beck, 2014, 31-32.

¹⁴³ Here the evidence collected by Farinetti (2011) dealing with extra-*polis* cult practice is of especial use in its demonstration of group dynamics and networks of interaction. See Figure 4 in appendix.

¹⁴⁴ Beck and Funke, 2015, 25. Aggregative identities – see Hall, 1997, 47–50.

¹⁴⁵ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 133. For the geography, see Herakleides Kritikos *BNJ* 369A F I.6–25; Strabo 9.2.1–42; Paus. Book 9, *passim*.

1.2 Evidence for Cult Interaction in the Geometric and Archaic Periods

Firm archaeological evidence of Geometric period (900-700BC) cult in Boiotia is limited to just three sites – Mavrovouni Kastro, the Ismenion at Thebes, and the sanctuary of Apollo at Mt. Ptoion, although literary accounts suggest the addition of Onchestos to this list.¹⁴⁶ Mavrovouni Kastro was a small mountain sanctuary in the SW corner of Boiotia, associated in the Hellenistic period with Artemis *Agroteira*, although no earlier evidence exists as to the patron of the shrine which was later incorporated into a Spartan fort.¹⁴⁷ The Ptoion, Onchestos, and the Ismenion at Thebes, all reveal evidence of worship during this period, the liminal status of the former two sites suggesting the necessity of external groups co-operating in their operation. Epigraphic proof of interaction at these sites, however, does not appear until the Archaic period (700-480BC) when evidence for cult practice increases across the whole of Boiotia.¹⁴⁸ To the initial three attested active Geometric period sites can now be added the Sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia, the Agia Triada cave sacred to the Libethrion nymphs on Helikon, the shrine of the hero Ptoios at Kastraki near Akraiphia, the Sanctuary of the Muses on Mt Helikon near Thespiiai, the Sanctuary of Apollo at Eutresis, the Kabeirion near Thebes, and the cult site at Kleidi, some of these no doubt having developed earlier.¹⁴⁹ It is to those shrines which show evidence of interaction of multiple communities to which I shall now turn.

1.2.1 The Sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos

The site of the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos has been identified without contention a little north of the village of Steni.¹⁵⁰ The shrine occupied a low saddle of land separating the basins of east and west Boiotia, thus occupying a geographically central though equally liminal position – being associated with no single *polis*, lying on the boundary between the *khōrai* of

¹⁴⁶ See Figure 4 in appendix. Onchestos is named in the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* 2.506. Since 2014 Onchestos has been the site of excavations by a team from the University of Columbia (<http://onchestos.mcah.columbia.edu/>). Geometric evidence may yet turn up.

¹⁴⁷ Fossey, 1988, 173-174. Quite aside from its non-central location, the sanctuary's lack of regional importance counts it out as playing any major role in the development of Boiotian self-consciousness.

¹⁴⁸ See Figure 4 in appendix.

¹⁴⁹ Farinetti, 2011.

¹⁵⁰ Spyropoulos, 1973, 379-381.

Thebes and Haliartos - circumstances which played an important part in the role played by the sanctuary in the history of Boiotia and the Boiotian *koinon*.¹⁵¹

There is no physical evidence for ritual at Onchestos during the Geometric period, although its inclusion in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* suggests an early importance, as does its presence in the *Homeric Hymns* to Apollo and Hermes during the Archaic period.¹⁵² The pivotal position of Onchestos – controlling as it did the main east-west route through Boiotia (see Figure 10) - played a role in its adoption as the later seat of the Hellenistic Boiotian Confederation, but what role the sanctuary may have played during the Geometric and Archaic periods is unclear.¹⁵³ Strabo (9.2.33) remarks that Onchestos was the place ‘where the amphiktyonic council (*to amphiktyonikon*) usually assembled’.¹⁵⁴ It is, however, difficult to ascertain to which amphiktyony Strabo is referring, given that he provides no indication of which period he is referring to.¹⁵⁵ Buck has interpreted this as a religious amphiktyony in charge of the sanctuary, not the later Boiotian federal council.¹⁵⁶ Equally, Beck and Ganter identify Strabo’s amphiktyony as evidence for the early role of the sanctuary as a nexus of communication between the settlements of the northwestern part of the region and those of the southeast.¹⁵⁷ How early this association may have been formed is unclear, but Buck has suggested that its original members included ‘older, non-Boiotian, stocks in Boiotia, such as the Oropians, and the inhabitants of trans-Asopic territories’.¹⁵⁸ If such a picture is correct, it emphasises the role of the sanctuary in connecting the various groups inhabiting geographical Boiotia who had not yet decided that they were a single *ethnos*. Mackil has suggested a central

¹⁵¹ The ‘ownership’ of the shrine of Onchestos is unclear. It has been suggested that it belonged at various times to either Thebes or Koroneia – Schachter, 1986, 215; Ps.-Hes. *Aspis* 103-105. During the fifth century BC, it appears to have belonged to Haliartos – *SEG* 25.554; Schachter, 1986, 215. After 338BC it was probably independent – for summary see Hansen, 1996, 94.

¹⁵² *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (229-230) - dated to ca.585BC by Janko, 1982, 116-132. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (ll.87-88, 186-187, 190) a strange rite is described involving the dismounting of a chariot within the grove and its subsequent adventures, unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis. Recent excavations by Dr Alexandra Charami have uncovered a large circular structure to the west of the sanctuary which might be linked to the chariot – awaiting publication (see <http://onchestos.mcah.columbia.edu/>).

¹⁵³ See for example Hellenistic federal inscriptions – e.g. *IG* VII 27; 28; 209-212; 214-218; 220; 222; 1747; 1748; 1750; 1755 all mention the *archon* at Onchestos – see Schachter, 1986, 208.

¹⁵⁴ 9.2.33. See Mackil, 2013, 164.

¹⁵⁵ See Guillon, 1963, 93; Tausend, 1992, 27; Snodgrass, 1982, 670, 689–690.

¹⁵⁶ Buck, 1979, 102 n.22.

¹⁵⁷ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 135.

¹⁵⁸ Buck, 1979, 90. Funke has suggested a development of the amphiktyony in the post-Mycenaean period – Funke, 2013, 461.

role for the site as a cohesive force on the *poleis* of Boiotia in the late Archaic and early Classical periods.¹⁵⁹

A temple was constructed at Onchestos at the end of the sixth century BC. The logistics involved in such a construction clearly reveal the presence of an integrated worshipping community – perhaps Strabo’s *amphiktyony*. Prior to the construction of the temple, Onchestos must have been an open-air sanctuary, which accords with Homer’s description (*Il*.2.506):

Ὀγχηστόν θ’ ἱερὸν Ποσιδῆϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος

And holy Onchestos, splendid grove of Poseidon

By the time Strabo visited the trees had disappeared – allowing the traveller a digression on the exaggeration of poetry – but were once again present for Pausanias the following century.¹⁶⁰ Excavated in the early 1970s, inscriptions confirm the identification of the site of the sanctuary, the earliest being that found on a limestone base and dated to the 6th/5th centuries BC (*SEG* 27:61):

Ποτειδάωνι Μ[.]ον ἀνέθηκε

M[...]on dedicated this to Poseidon.

How far back worship at the grove extends we do not know. Schachter has suggested cult at the site may have reached as far back as the Bronze Age, but Homer is our *terminus ante quem* for its existence.¹⁶¹ The conflict between Herakles of Thebes and Erginos of Orchomenos – said to have started following the accidental killing of Erginos’ father Klymenos at games at Onchestos – has been taken to reflect Archaic reality.¹⁶² At the very least they reveal a belief

¹⁵⁹ Mackil, 2013, 167.

¹⁶⁰ Strabo 9.2.33; Paus. 9.26.5.

¹⁶¹ Schachter, 1986, 213. For excavation see Touloupa, *ADelt* 1964, 200–201; *ADelt* 22 (1967) Philippaki, Symeonoglou and Pharaklas, *ADelt* 1967, 242; Spyropoulos, 1973, 379–81; *Teiresias* 3 (1973):4; *AR* 20 (1973–74): 20; Michaud, 1974, 644–45. Roesch, 1982, 272.

¹⁶² Myths: Apoll. *Bibl.* 2.67; Diod. Sic. 4.18; Eur. *HF* 47–50, 220; Paus. 9.37–38; Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 95; Polyainos 1.3.5. Nilsson, 1932, 152ff saw this as evidence of Mycenaean conflict; Buck, as Archaic – Buck, 1979, 97; for Kowalzig they represent the process by which the Thebans took control of the shrine from Orchomenos – Kowalzig, 2007, 366–367; Mackil questions such ‘ownership’ in this liminal site and sees in the myths Theban claims to political hegemony in the region – made first in the sixth century BC and more forcefully in the fifth century BC – to those who participated in the cult – Mackil, 2013, 167.

in the antiquity of the interaction at the site, of the site as a central meeting place for the aristocratic elites of the scattered *poleis* of later Boiotia, and in the antiquity of *agōnes* here.

1.2.2 The Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, Perdikovrysi

The oracular sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios (Figures 11 and 12) occupies three terraces on the lower slopes of Mt Pelagia - an extension of the Ptoion massif - at modern Perdikovrysi, lying on a high mountain corridor between Anthedon and Akraiphia, near the east coast of Lake Kopais.¹⁶³ A kilometre and a half west of Perdikovrysi, and two kilometres from Akraiphia, stands the shrine of the local hero Ptoios at Kastraki.¹⁶⁴ Evidence from Kastraki reveals a date of use from the late Archaic era, and a special relationship with nearby Akraiphia, with an avenue of at least 29 tripods dedicated by the city and erected in ceremonial alignments framing the road from the sanctuary to the *polis*, dating from the Late Archaic period through to the mid-5th century BC.¹⁶⁵ The two sites have been subject to extensive excavation – the temple of Apollo alone was excavated seven times between 1885 and 1996.¹⁶⁶ Late Neolithic and Early Helladic pottery have been found at Perdikovrysi, and the Ptoion (as I shall refer to the sanctuary at Perdikovrysi) seems to be mentioned in a Linear B tablet from Thebes; but the earliest building dates from the sixth century BC, although sherds and bronzes from the Late Geometric period suggest that the sanctuary was in use from the eighth century.¹⁶⁷ The earliest mention of Apollo at the site is an inscription to Apollo Ptoios on a *Korē* from about the third quarter of the seventh century BC.¹⁶⁸ There are unpublished inscriptions to Athena Pronaia from the sixth century BC, and Müller has proposed that the southern portico at the site be identified as the temple of Athena Pronaia, possibly modelled on the Delphic pattern.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ Perdikovrysi means ‘Partridge Spring’. A flock of partridges flew up from the site on my arrival in September 2016, evidence for the aptness of the modern name.

¹⁶⁴ Buck, 1979, 12-13; Fossey, 1988, 271-273.

¹⁶⁵ Papalexandrou, 2008, 262. Guillon, 1943, 57-62.

¹⁶⁶ Müller, 1996, 859. See also Ducat, 1971, 7-40, 171.

¹⁶⁷ Lauffer, *RE* (1959)23.2 s.v. Ptoion. Linear B tablet Av 104 has the allative *po-to-a2-ja-de* meaning ‘towards the festival/mountain/region of Ptoion – the latter being preferable - Del Freo, 2009, 66-67; festival - Sacconi, 2009, 212.

¹⁶⁸ Ducat, 1964, 287 – he dates the *korē* (Athens MN2) to 620BC.

¹⁶⁹ Schachter, 1967, 1; Ducat, 1971, 396 and 412, nos. 249, 261; Müller, 1996, 862.

The Ptoion was located on the border of the *khōra* of Akraiphia which lay a few km to the west, and that of Thebes, itself situated 23km south on the Teneric Plain (Figure 2).¹⁷⁰ It is possible that, like Delphi - which on a smaller scale it resembles in appearance and setting - the Ptoion was treated as neutral territory, open to citizens of more than one *polis*, thereby explaining the role it played in the creation of a Boiotian community and its popularity in the Archaic period and especially during the sixth century BC.¹⁷¹ During this period Apollo Ptoios received dedications from worshippers throughout the Mediterranean, many of the numerous *kouroi* - Ducat numbers them at around 120 - for which the site is best-known being dedicated by participants from Boiotia, Attica, the southern Cyclades, Ionia, Paros, Naxos, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta.¹⁷² During the middle of the sixth century a dedication (Figure 13) was set up by the Athenian Alkmeonides son of Alkmeon (*IG I³ 1469*):

[Φοί]βο μὲν εἰμ' ἄγαλ[μα Λ]ατ[οί]δα καλ[ό]ν·
 [ho δ' Ἀ]λκμέονος ἡῦις Ἀλκμεονίδες
 [h]ίπ(π)οισι νικ[έ]σας ἔ]θεκέ μ' [ὀ]κέαις],
 ἡὰς Κνοπι[άδα]ς ἔ]λαυν' ho [— — —]
 λότ' ἐν Ἀθάναις Παλ(λ)άδος πανέ[γ]υρις].

I am the fair statue of Phoibos son of Leto; Alkmeonides son of Alkmeon, who conquered with his swift horses, which Knopiadas the son of ... drove, when the festival of Pallas (Athena) was held in Athens.¹⁷³

Another dates from ca.520BC and was dedicated by Hipparchos, son of Peisistratus - *h ἵππαρχος ἀνέθε[κεν] h ο Πεισισ[τράτο]* - 'set up by Hipparchos son of Peisistratus'.¹⁷⁴ Attempts have been made to understand these dedications through an analysis of Athenian factional politics of the time and Boiotian/Athenian relations, although Schachter has suggested that redirected traffic following the destruction of the second temple at Delphi ca.548/547BC

¹⁷⁰ Mackil, 2013, 171. Schachter, 2016, 155. The Teneric plain was named from the seer Teneros, son of Apollo and the nymph Melia, and as Pindar claims, prophet of both the Theban Ismenion and the Ptoion. Teneros at Ismenion: Pind. *Pai.* 9.38–46, at Ptoion: Strabo 9.2.34, quoting Pindar *fr.* 51b, d (Race).

¹⁷¹ Schachter, 2016, 155.

¹⁷² Ducat, 1971, 211–369; Mackil, 2013, 172.

¹⁷³ Trans. Dillon and Garland, 2010, 326.

¹⁷⁴ *IG I³ 1470*; *SEG* 50 92. Dated ca.521BC - Larson, 2000, 211–222.

may lie behind the mid-sixth-century BC boom at the Ptoion, whose similar topography and easy accessibility despite its seclusion may have benefitted the site.¹⁷⁵

While clearly of importance outside Boiotia, its significance *within* Boiotia was linked to its acting as a *locus* of interaction between the members of different communities in the same way as the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos.¹⁷⁶ More importantly, it was also the location for what were arguably the first dedications made in the name of the collective ‘*Boiōtoi*’.¹⁷⁷ An earlier example may exist at Delphi, a dedication on the base of a votive statue which on the basis of script Larson has dated to the second half of the sixth century BC, suggesting Tritogeneia as the recipient, this being an epithet used for Athena in the *Iliad* and in warlike pose in the *Aspis*.¹⁷⁸

[Ἀπόλλωνι] καὶ Τριτο[γενεῖαι ἀνέθεαν] κέποιεσαν [- - -] Βοιωτοὶ χάλκι[ον ἄγαλμα?]¹⁷⁹

The Boiotians made and dedicated this bronze gift to Apollo and Tritogeneia

What is interesting is that Larson’s reconstruction provides us with a dedication to Athena at a sanctuary of Apollo, an arrangement found also with the first epigraphic evidence for the *internal* dedicatory usage of the term *Boiōtoi*.¹⁸⁰ The first Ptoion inscription, written on a small stone statuette base - presumably also of a martial Athena – reads Βοιωτοὶ Πρωναίαι – from the *Boiōtoi* to [Athena] Pronaia.¹⁸¹ Another, on the rim of a bronze vase now lost, was described by the original excavator Maurice Holleaux as a dedication by the Boiotians to

¹⁷⁵ See Buck, 1979, 118 n.12; Schachter, 2016, 158; Parke and Wormell, 1956, 143-144.; Bommelaer, 1991, 20, 95–88. Hipparchos’ dedication might equally be interpreted as a snub to the Alkmeonidai and Delphi, and ought to be dated pre-519BC when Boiotian/Athenian relations turned sour – Schachter, 2016, 160.

¹⁷⁶ Mackil, 2013, 173.

¹⁷⁷ Ganter, 2013, 88. Ganter is dubious about Larson’s claim - Larson, 2007b, 137 - for an earlier dedication at Delphi (see below). Larson dates the first, to Athena Pronaia, to the early fifth century BC – Larson, 2007b, 132–33. *Boiōtoi* Pronaia on the base of a statue, dated by Ducat 500-470BC.

¹⁷⁸ SEG 13.371; Larson, 2007b, 139-141; 2007b, 99-106. *Iliad* 4.515; 8.39; 22.183; *Aspis* 197 – Athena has spear raised, typical of the warlike Athena pose. Marchand (2010) is dubious of Larson’s ‘rather hypothetical’ reconstruction of the dedication, as well as her reading of Tritogeneia, being unknown as an epithet of Athena in Central Greece. Ducat, 1971, 410 dates the stone ca. 500-470 BCE, Larson, 2007a, 101-103 to the mid to late-sixth century BC. Tritogeneia was previously explained as part of the signature of the artist.

¹⁷⁹ SEG 13 371; c.f. SEG 57 488.

¹⁸⁰ Larson, 2007b, 131. Athena was of Pan-Boiotian importance, especially in the cult of Athena Itonia near Koroneia. The dedications at Ptoion on behalf of the *Boiōtoi* promotes an association with Athena at a significant regional cult centre, and Larson predicts excavation may well reveal such dedications at other sanctuaries - Larson, 2007b, 131, 133. Ganter is dubious about Larson’s claim for this dedication at Delphi - Ganter, 2013, 88. This inscription provides the sole extant epigraphic attestation of the Boiotian use of the collective regional *ethnikon* outside Boiotia from the tail-end of the Archaic period - Larson, 2007a, 99.

¹⁸¹ See Beck, 2014, 24; Ducat, 1971, 409, no. 257.

Athena Pronaia - Βο[ιωτοῖ Ἀθαν]αῖ Προναία.¹⁸² A third was found at the nearby sanctuary of the Akraiphian hero Ptoios at Kastraki, though no text or photographs are available.¹⁸³ Whatever the exact date of the Delphic dedication, by the end of the sixth century BC a group – or a number of groups – were dedicating on behalf of a Boiotian collective at a wide range of local religious cult sites both inside and outside Boiotia.

Larson has suggested that these dedicating *Boiōtoi* were a ‘collective concerned to promote itself through cult’, who by 500BC were dedicating as a single entity.¹⁸⁴ Yet Ganter has questioned Larson’s reading of the Ptoion evidence as one-sided, not least because the data is so limited, the material unimpressive.¹⁸⁵ The one surviving Pronaia inscription is tiny – just 4.95x5.5cm - and makes modest claims, with minimal visual impact.¹⁸⁶ Such a statuette, Ganter states, might not have been the best way to promote collective identity, and she suggests that the dedications at the Ptoion may in fact be the work of the Thebans alone; that other Boiotians may have viewed them (if they had even noticed them presumably) as an expression of Theban hegemonic aspirations – precisely the type of thing which had driven the Plataians into the arms of the Athenians at the end of the sixth century BC.¹⁸⁷ Whatever the exact identity of the dedicating group, these inscriptions reveal a collective who identified themselves as ‘Boiotians’ with the expectation – as the example at Delphi reveals – that outside groups would also recognise them as such.¹⁸⁸

Presumably being ‘Boiotian’ meant different things to different groups at different times. To my mind Homer’s *Boiōtoi* reveal some form of group identity at the end of the eighth century BC, an identity doubtless forged through ‘communities of interaction’ of Beck’s conflict, trade, and cult.¹⁸⁹ But during the sixth century BC, where monumental building is attested at Onchestos, the Ptoion, and the Itonion, this union seems to have been taken to the next level, ostensibly under the initiative of the Thebans, and possibly in response to the threat of external conflict with the rising powers of Athens and Thessaly. As I will discuss below, the context of Herodotus’ description of Theban actions at the end of the sixth century suggest that

¹⁸² See Ducat, 1971, 419 no. 269a – the vase is now lost.

¹⁸³ Ganter, 2013, 88.

¹⁸⁴ Larson, 2007, 131.

¹⁸⁵ Ganter, 2013, 89.

¹⁸⁶ Beck, 2014, 29.

¹⁸⁷ Ganter, 2013, 89, 101. On Thebes and Plataia, see Hdt.6.108.2-5 and below at 1.3.

¹⁸⁸ Beck, 2014, 26.

¹⁸⁹ Beck, 2014, 31-32.

they were pushing for contributions in the form of resources or action from their fellow Boiotians.¹⁹⁰ It is in the context of this Theban push that the dedications at the Ptoion might be understood.

Most scholars believe that the Ptoion fell under Theban control during the sixth century BC, although how early in the century is disputed, as is the hostility of the takeover and its exact nature.¹⁹¹ Guillon proposed that the construction of the shrine for the hero Ptoios at Kastraki followed his hostile ejection from his original home at Perdikovrysi by the Thebans who had installed their own gods – Apollo, Melia, and Teneros – there ca.600BC.¹⁹² Epigraphic evidence however places Apollo as the earliest recipient of cult at the Ptoion, ca. 640–620BC, while from the third quarter of the sixth century BC the *ethnika* of dedicants reveals that Thebans as well as Akraiphians were making dedications at the sanctuary of the hero Ptoios, the Thebans employing Akraiphian sculptors to create the votives, while the Akraiphians were dedicating lavish tripods at both sanctuaries - hardly a sign of mutual animosity; the *Boiōtoi* too may have dedicated at Kastraki (Figure 8), and possibly the Orchomenians or *Thēbageneis*.¹⁹³ Thus both sites are revealed as important *loci* of dedications by a number of separate Boiotian communities in this important period. The idea of Theban control at the Ptoion is based on Herodotus' assertion of Theban ownership during the Persian War, as given in his description of the consultation of the oracle of Apollo by the Carian Mys, the agent of Mardonius, during which the oracle famously responded in the Carian's own tongue (8.135):

τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῶιον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὄρεϊ ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος.

This temple, called Ptoion, is owned by the Thebans, and lies above Lake Kopais on a mountain very near to the *polis* of Akraiphia.

¹⁹⁰ Mackil, 2013, 295.

¹⁹¹ Ganter, 2013, 91.

¹⁹² Guillon, 1943, 99-115. For summary of the Theban takeover, see Schachter, 1981, 56-58. Guillon suggests this Theban aggression and takeover of Akraiphian prompted Thessalian aggression and entry into Boiotia - Guillon, 1963, 61-62.

¹⁹³ Ducat, 1964, 287; 1971, 90 no. 50b; and *IG VII 2729* = Ducat, 1971, 77-83, no. 46. Apollo is named Ptoieus until ca. fifth century BC, then Ptoios - Mackil, 2013, 172; Theban dedications: Ducat, 1971, 379-84 nos. 232-35; Akraiphian dedications: Ducat 1971, 411 no. 260. Akraiphians at the Ptoion - Ducat, 1964, 286-288; 1971, 400, 441-442. *Boiōtoi* at Kastraki - Schachter, 1994, 13-14 and n.1. Orchomenians and *Thēbageneis* - Schachter, 1994, 13; Ducat, 1971, 430 no. 278; for *Thēbageneis* see section 1.3 below.

It is possible, however, that Herodotus is simply equating the Thebans and the Boiotians, as literary sources frequently did from the fourth century BC onwards.¹⁹⁴ Schachter has rejected Ducat's argument for Theban control ca.520BC, based as it was on the *ethnika* of dedications at the shrine, pointing out that the practices of the usage of *ethnika* are so varied and inconclusive that nothing can be read of the political adherence of the Ptoion at this time.¹⁹⁵ In contrast he sees nothing forceful in the Theban presence at the Ptoion, suggesting that Herodotus' Thebans were merely hegemonies of the Boiotians at this time.¹⁹⁶ As mentioned above, it is in the context of late sixth-century BC Theban hegemony – and arguably Theban self-promotion – that the dedications made by the '*Boiōtoi*' at the Ptoion – and also Kastraki – might be understood.¹⁹⁷ The presence of Akraiphian and Theban dedications together suggest that Theban control was not really the issue, but a Theban presence amongst the many other presences was important.

1.2.3 The Sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia

The cult place of Athena Itonia near Koroneia was of central importance to the development of a unified Boiotian identity, becoming during the Classical period the focal point of Boiotia's *ethnos* religion and the location of the *agōn* of the Pamboiotia.¹⁹⁸ The foundation *aition* of the sanctuary reiterated the deeply held belief in the close links of the Boiotians with their ancestral homeland around Arne in Thessaly, the cult itself supposedly having been brought from Thessaly with the migrating Boiotians some sixty years after the Trojan War, the chosen location being the site of the Boiotians' first victory.¹⁹⁹

The location of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia has not been established beyond doubt, although the site excavated by Th. G. Spyropoulos is now generally accepted

¹⁹⁴ See Ganter, 2013, 91. Or perhaps as early as the sixth century BC – Schachter, 2016, 160.

¹⁹⁵ Schachter, 2016, 161.

¹⁹⁶ Schachter, 2016, 39 and 162. Beck and Ganter, 2015, 136 nevertheless maintain that control of the shrine was contested between Thebes and Akraiphia in the second half of the sixth century BC. Regardless, it was probably the Thebans who organized the construction of the sixth-century BC stone temple – see Ganter, 2013, 91.

¹⁹⁷ Ganter, 2013, 101.

¹⁹⁸ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 135.

¹⁹⁹ Thuc. 1.12.3. When this *aition* was added will be discussed below at 2.4.

(Figure 9).²⁰⁰ The site lies in the plain just north of the acropolis of ancient Koroneia, just as described by Strabo (9.2.29).²⁰¹

κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν
ἰδρύσαντο ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον
προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφώνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον λέγων

ῶνασσ' Ἀθανάα πολεμάδοκε
ᾗ ποι Κορωνήας μεδ[
ναύω πάροιθεν ἀμφι[.....]
Κωραλίῳ ποτάμῳ πὰρ' ὄχθαις.²⁰²

And having conquered Koroneia, in the plain before it they set up a temple to Itonian Athena, of the same name as the Thessalian temple; and they called the river which flowed past it Kouarios by the same name as the Thessalian river.²⁰³ But Alkaios calls it Koralios, saying:

‘Queen Athena, warlike one,
who perhaps as ruler of Koroneia...
before the temple...
by the banks of the river Koralios.’

Spyropoulos uncovered three buildings here: a large temple 10m x 20m dated in its final stages to the fifth or fourth century BC; a smaller 3m x 3m building which contained a life-size fourth-century BC marble female head; and a smaller structure, presumably a treasury.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Spyropoulos, *Praktika* (1975 [1977]) B '392-414; AAA 6 (1973) 385-392 and 394; *ADelt* 28 (1973 [1977]) B'1.271-272; *Teiresias* 3 (1973) 5-6. The attribution of this site to the Itonion is strengthened by Krentz, 1989, 314-17 with a roof tile possibly referring to the goddess (-ΘΑΝ--- - [Α]θαν[ας ιαρα]?) found very close to the site. In Mackil's view there is no serious reason to doubt it - Mackil, 2013, 159; c.f. Wallace, 1979, 115-16. The previous favourite candidate for the Itonion lay near the church of Metamorfosis, to the northeast of the modern village of Alalkomenes, formerly known as Mamoura - Buck, 1979, 6. See Fossey, 1988, 399f and Pritchett, 1969, 85-87. Part of the difficulty in fixing the spot lies in the fact that several inscriptions pertaining to the Itonia are found scattered at each of these sites - Proxeny decrees relating to the Itonion are found for example near Agoriani, south of Agia Paraskevi (*IG* VII 2858), and at Mamoura (*IG* VII 2859-2869).

²⁰¹ For recent excavation of Koroneia, see Bintliff, 2013, 1-19; *Teiresias* 44.2a, 2014, 4-8 on 2014 season.

²⁰² Strabo 9.2.29; Alkaios fr.325 Campbell (fr.147 Page)] = ii 256 Kramer + cod. Vat. 2306 rescr. See also Hekataios, *FGrH* 1F2; Armenidas *FGrH* 378F1; Alexandros, *FGrH* 273F92 (all three quoted by Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.551a); Simonides Keios, *FGrH* 8F1.

²⁰³ See also Strabo 9.5.14 where he repeats the same information about the Thessalian connection.

²⁰⁴ Michaud, 1974, 643.

Continued excavation mainly in the *sekos* of the temple revealed cremations of the Geometric period beneath the floor of the sanctuary, and a Roman *skyphos* fragment with, in relief, a figure wearing a helmet with three crests – presumably Athena Itonia.²⁰⁵ Spyropoulos concluded that the temple was built in the middle of the sixth century BC and revamped in the early Roman period, when two tripod bases of the fourth or third century BC were incorporated into its threshold.²⁰⁶ Amandry has suggested a local origin for these tripods, arguing that tripods were dedicated at the Itonion by the city of Koroneia or by the Boiotian confederacy just as they were at Ptoion.²⁰⁷

The Alkaïos fragment embedded in Strabo's text gives a *terminus ante quem* for an important cult of Athena here ca. 600BC.²⁰⁸ How Alkaïos knew of the site is unknown. It is possible he was present in Boiotia during one of his many exiles from Lesbos, where as a wandering poet – a non-partisan outsider – he would have been well placed to give voice to the expression of self-identity of the archaic *polis*.²⁰⁹ As Mackil has pointed out, it is Koroneia of which the poet is singing, not wider Boiotia: there is no evidence yet of pan-Boiotian significance.²¹⁰ That the fragment comes from a hymn composed for the dedication of Spyropoulos' sixth-century BC temple is therefore a possibility, although it is also possible that Alkaïos is referring instead to the nearby sanctuary of Athena Alalkomeneis.²¹¹ The relation between the two sanctuaries is unknown. Schachter has suggested that the extra-mural Itonion and the rural Alalkomeneion formed a balanced pair, a not unusual arrangement, with the Alalkomeneion the original and older of the two.²¹² Certainly the Alalkomeneion - of which

²⁰⁵ Spyropoulos, *Ergon* (1975), 12-17 – see also Aupert, 1976, 644.

²⁰⁶ *AE* 1975, 392-414. See also Aupert, 1978, 694 and 696. We do not know who paid for the construction of the temple – if Pindar's amphiktionones were an old organization, they would be likely candidates - Mackil, 2013, 163.

²⁰⁷ Amandry, 1978, 565-569 – see also Guillon, 1943, 160-161; Roesch, 1965, 141. On the importance of tripods in Boiotian sanctuaries see Papalexandrou, 2008, 251-282 and Mackil, 2013, 159-160. The Boiotian *koinon* also dedicated tripods to the Muses at Thespias, Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia, and to the Charites of Orchomenos.

²⁰⁸ Ganter, 2013, 99 sees Alkaïos' mention as a sign of the trans-regional impact of the festival, although a travelling Alkaïos in the right place at the right time might counter such a suggestion.

²⁰⁹ Campbell, 1982, xvi. See also Mackil, 2013, 159. Alkaïos also wrote about Onchestos (425 L-P; Voigt 325) - Schachter, 2016, 180 n.12.

²¹⁰ On the choice of foreign poets, see D'Alessio, 2009, 166-167; Mackil, 2013, 159 n.48.

²¹¹ Mackil, 2013, 159. Schachter, 1994, 72 and 2016, 179 suggests that the Alkaïos fragment may refer either to the Itonion or to the sanctuary of Athena at Alalkomenai, not far from the Itonion – but Mackil points out that the Alkaïos comes from a Strabo section where he is talking of the Itonion, and Athena Alalkomeneis is never associated with Koroneia in our very meagre sources - Mackil, 2013, 159 and n.48. Mackil also sees no evidence to support Schachter's further suggestion that the Alalkomeneion was replaced by the Itonion. – see Schachter, 1994, 72 and 1981, 113.

²¹² Schachter, 2016, 180 – Schachter cites Eleusis and the Eleusinion of Athens, Brauron and the

Homer seems to have been aware - remained important to the later Boiotians.²¹³ It is interesting to note the liminal position of the Alalkomeneion, between the territories of Koroneia and Haliartos. If there *was* a link with the Itoneion, then the cult complex might once again point to the importance of a liminal shrine in the development of a unified Boiotian community.²¹⁴

No early votives or ritual evidence for an early cult of Athena have been found at the site, and when Schachter divides the cult evidence into two periods – the seventh/sixth centuries down to the end of the fourth century, and from the start of the third century BC onwards – his evidence for the former rests on the iconography of a number of items of pottery, none of which were found *in situ*.²¹⁵ The most well-known of the pieces Schachter discusses is a Boiotian black-figure *lekane* of about the middle of the sixth century BC and displayed in the British Museum (Figure 14).²¹⁶ The scene is interpreted as displaying a sacrificial procession at the shrine of the goddess who is painted in warlike pose typical of the cult, and seemingly with a snake – sometimes identified as her chthonic consort - standing on a pedestal behind her (Figure 15).²¹⁷ In front of the goddess stands a two-tier altar, smoke rising from the lowest level, with a bird perched on the very top – a crow or raven (κορώνη) possibly emblematic of Koroneia.²¹⁸

Schachter has suggested that Athena and her serpentine consort, here united, represent the chief gods of two separate population groups within the *Boiōtoi* who had arrived in Boiotia during the Dark age and settled in close proximity to one another, Zeus Laphystios representing the inhabitants of Orchomenos – the Minyans - and the territory they controlled, Athena Itonia and/or Alalkomeneis representing those of Koroneia and their dependants.²¹⁹ Strabo, in the same passage quoted above (9.2.29), tells us that ‘for some mystic reason’ a statue of Hades was dedicated alongside that of Athena at the Itoneion. It is possible that this was a

Brauronion of Athens, Demeter of Potniai and on the Kadmeia at Thebes as other examples.

²¹³ For example, a treaty between Aitolia/Phokis and Boiotia ca.301BC (*IG* IX 2.1.170 = Roesch, 1965, 80–2 = *SEG* 23.304 = Roesch, 1982, 357–9), is to be sworn in Boiotia at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos, in the Alalkomeneion, and at Koroneia in the sanctuary of Athena.

²¹⁴ Homer too knew an Athena Alalkomeneis, pointing to the importance of the cult – *Iliad* 4.8; 5.908.

²¹⁵ Lack of votives - Mackil, 2013, 159. Schachter, 1981, 122. Schachter admits to the difficulties of relying on iconography alone.

²¹⁶ *BM* 80 - 1879, 1004.1. The ware is Boiotian and others of the same form exist – hence the likelihood of Boiotian origin. It was uncovered in Athens so unfortunately its exact place of manufacture is unknown. Some have explained the scene as pertaining to the Athenian Panathenaia – see Wallace, 1979, 117.

²¹⁷ Ure, 1929, 167-171. Ure says chthonic element may have been the original at Koroneia, with Athena coming along later – ‘He may well have been some primitive under-world deity who was on the spot before Itonia came down from Thessaly’ - Ure, 1929, 168, but c.f. Schachter below.

²¹⁸ Schachter, 2016, 181.

²¹⁹ Schachter, 2016, 16 and 182.

misunderstanding; that the statue seen by Strabo was of Zeus in chthonic aspect, perhaps the Zeus Laphystios worshipped on Mount Laphystion above Koroneia and at Halos in Achaia Phthiotis.²²⁰ How the two chief gods became combined at Koroneia is unknown. Schachter posits either a hostile take-over of the sanctuary by the Orchomenians – possibly on the occasion of their military action at Koroneia described above – or evidence of a political reality in which the Minyans and their neighbours coexisted peacefully.²²¹ What, if any, reality lies behind the migration tradition of the *Boiōtoi* is unclear, and I am less willing than Schachter to give credence to it, or to the accompanying of each population by its separate gods, Athena on one side and Zeus on the other.²²² Schachter's picture of the development of a Boiotian identity not centred on Thebes is, however, refreshing. The Itoneion was associated by the later Boiotians with the victorious arrival of a *unified Boiōtoi*, although no account of this tradition exists before the fifth century BC with Herodotus and Thucydides; it was also the location of the Pamboiotia, the only *agōn* inside Boiotia restricted solely to Boiotians, and whose *aition* celebrated the arrival of the *Boiōtoi* from Thessaly.

The British Museum *lekane* (Figure 14) seems to represent a festival procession led by a woman with a flat tray or basket on her head, being presumably the priestess.²²³ Behind her is the sacrificial bull together with a number of men whom Schachter identifies as officials, one playing a double flute, others carrying sundry items such as wreaths and jugs; behind them is a cart holding four men and drawn by two horses, the four men in the cart representing the audience – so Schachter suggests – of the festival.²²⁴ Schachter has linked this *lekane* to a number of vases, none found *in situ* at the Itoneion, showing activities identified as sacrificial procession, cultic ceremony, festive revelry, and – importantly for this thesis - agonistic activity.²²⁵ If the attribution of these vases to the cult of Athena Itonia at Koroneia is correct,

²²⁰ Schachter, 2016, 181. Both sites were linked to Athamas, who also reigned at Orchomenos. Equally, at Boiotian Laphystion Zeus shared a temenos with Herakles, as did Zeus Akraios on Pelion; an Akraia ritual is known from Hellenistic Koroneia, while the epithet of Zeus at Koroneia at that time was the similar Karaioi or Keraioi – see Schachter, 2016, 181.

²²¹ Orchomenos vs Koroneia - *SEG* 11.1208; *LSAG* 93+95, no.11. Peaceful coexistence - Schachter, 2016, 182.

²²² On the arguments against the migration tradition, see introduction.

²²³ See Schachter, 1981, 122.

²²⁴ Schachter, 1981, 122. Ure has suggested that the rest of the procession shows the capture of a wild goat for sacrifice to the snake god, while the final figures reveal two men holding wreaths, one with a large bird perched on his leg. Ure, 1929, 170. Ure suggests the bird is a water bird and points to the river Kouralios/Kouarios.

²²⁵ *BCH* 99 (1975) sacrificial procession *BCH* 99(1975) 433.16; cult ceremonies, *CVA* France 26 Louvre 17 (Paris 1974) pl. 33.3, and pl. 32.2; festive revelry *BCH* 99 (1975) 433.16; 434.24; 434.35; *CVA* France 26 Louvre 17 (Paris 1974) pl. 33.3; and agonistic activity *BCH* 99 (1975) 430.8; 433.16; 434.24; 434.29; 434.35; 434.36. Schachter, 1981, 122. Ure says vases may have been part of enthusiasm of inception of the festival,

then it may be that the cult was celebrated not only with sacrifices, but also an athletic and perhaps hippic *agōn*.²²⁶ Such a festival is seemingly in line with the later Pamboiotia, although Schachter is cautious in retrojecting the Hellenistic Boiotia-wide significance of the games (with its association with a unified Boiotian identity) back into the Archaic period.²²⁷ In contrast, Beck and Ganter have recently stated that as early as the sixth century BC the festival at the sanctuary ‘commemorated the settlement of the *Boiōtoi*’, a statement for which there is no confirming evidence.²²⁸ By ‘*Boiōtoi*’ they too seem to be referring to a select group of migrants rather than the later unified Classical Boiotians; as Ganter herself claims, Athena Itonia, or Alalkomeneis, is likely to have been the goddess of the people who settled at the shores of lake Kopais and who are considered to be the nucleus of the Boiotian *ethnos*.²²⁹ The best that can be said is that evidence for an early association with Athena is attested at the Itoneion, and that the later central position of the sanctuary and cult in the migration myths and unified identity of the *Boiōtoi* reveals the Itoneion as one strand of the complex web of interactions which entwined in the creation of a unified identity; the Alalkomeneion as a liminal sanctuary may have played a role in this coming together.

By the beginning of the fifth century BC there is literary evidence for a festival at the Itonia not dissimilar to that found during the Hellenistic period; proof that by this time the rituals at the Itonia were drawing in a wider worshipping group than Koroneia alone. A fragment of Bacchylides (fr.15 Campbell=15 Snell) was arguably composed for ritual performance there:²³⁰

Οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ’ ἀμβολᾶς,
ἀλλὰ χρυσαίγιδος Ἴτωνίας
χρῆ παρ’ εὐδαίδαλον ναὸν ἐλ-
θόντας ἄβρόν τι δεῖξαι < μέλος >

perhaps the first half of the sixth century BC 168-169; going against the palai slightly – but she is saying that it is not clear either way. This includes B80.

²²⁶ Schachter, 1981, 122. See also Beck and Ganter, 2015, 135; Larson, 2007b, 133–136 and 161–162. Pindar mentions horse races here (fr.94b l.47) – see also 2.3.2 below.

²²⁷ Schachter, 1981, 123. Mackil is equally clear in stating that no evidence can be found for a wider Boiotian role before the sixth century BC (2013, 163). For retrojection into Archaic – see Ziehen, *RE* 18 s.v.

“Pamboiotia” cols. 288–89; Nilsson 1967: 434; Buck, 1979, 77–78; Tausend, 1992, 26; Mafodda, 2000, 22.

²²⁸ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 135.

²²⁹ Ganter, 2013, 98.

²³⁰ Mackil, 2013, 159-160. This is evidence in Ganter of regional, if not trans-regional importance or renown – Ganter, 2013, 99. Pindar fr.94b (l.47) reveals the presence of the Theban family of Aioladas competing there.

This is no time for sitting and delaying: we must go to the richly-built temple of Itonia of the golden *aegis* and display a delicate (song? dance?)²³¹

Mackil sees the hortative ‘we must go’ - *χρή... ἐλθόντας* - as a pointer to a ritual procession to the temple, like that depicted on the British Museum *lekane* which predates the poet by half a century.²³² But whether the sixth-century BC ritual had a similar meaning to that of Bacchylides is unknown. Pindar’s praise of the victories of the Theban family of Aioladas ‘beside the glorious temple of Itonia’ speak of an interest of wider Boiotia in the *agōn* there, but there is no evidence for truly pan-Boiotian worship at the Itoneion until the third century BC, when a Boiotian-Aitolian proxeny decree mentions the Itoneion; nor is there written evidence of the *panēgyris* before Polybius.²³³ Equating the ritual on the British Museum *lekane* with the later Pamboiotia is therefore problematic. Nevertheless, the existence of a possibly agonistic festival during the sixth century BC at a place later linked to the arrival of the *Boiōtoi*, and at which during the fifth century BC we know that members of wider-Boiotian *poleis* were competing, suggests that the interactions at the Itoneion during the sixth century BC may have been integral to the development of at least one strand of a unified Boiotian identity – that of the idea of a unified arrival, with Athena Itonia as a guardian deity.²³⁴

1.3 ‘Contributing to the Boiotians’: The role of Thebes in uniting the *Boiōtoi* at the end of the sixth century BC

During the sixth century BC, the interactions of several communities within another Boiotian sanctuary were to play an important role in the development of a unified Boiotia. Yet unlike those other sanctuaries examined above, this sanctuary was firmly associated with a single *polis*, this being the Theban Sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios. Pausanias described the

²³¹ Trans. Campbell, 1992, 267.

²³² Bacchylides’ procession is in part what led Ure to make the connection between the *lekane* and the cult in the first place - see Ure, 1929, 167–71. Mackil sees the painting as an artistic imagining rather than an accurate representation, in contrast to Schachter 1981, 119 and Scheffer 1992 – Mackil, 2013, 160 n.51.

²³³ Ganter, 2013, 98. Proxeny decree - *IG IX² 1.170*.

²³⁴ As Beck and Ganter have recently argued – we ought not to expect a single account of the development of identity, a simple development, the divergent process after all being governed by the interaction of many groups of people from different backgrounds and with manifold traditions - Beck and Ganter, 2015, 134. The presence of Athena Pronaia at the Ptoion, for example, by the end of the sixth century BC and as recipient of the first dedications by the *Boiōtoi* suggests the importance of her cult at Koroneia in the process of ethnogenesis – see Larson, 2007b, 133–136, 161–162.

sanctuary as standing upon the Ismenian hill to the right of the Electran Gate which opened out to the south of the city, both hill and temple named for the river Ismenos which ran close by.²³⁵ It was at this shrine that the Thebans celebrated the Daphnephoria - a rite whose important pan-Boiotian links will be investigated in Chapter Two – in which a boy from a prominent Theban family was made priest of Apollo for a year (9.10.4).²³⁶

The sanctuary, 300 yards southeast of the Kadmeia, was identified through inscriptions.²³⁷ The Ismenian hill was excavated between 1910 and 1917 by A. D. Keramopoullos, who found traces of three successive temples, below which were six Mycenaean tombs.²³⁸ He identified a Geometric temple destroyed by fire ca. 700BC, a second built sometime during the seventh century BC, and a third - to which the surviving foundations belong - begun possibly in the first half of the fourth century BC, but unfinished, perhaps because of the destruction of Thebes by Alexander (Figure 16). The site is now being comprehensively excavated by a team from Bucknell University Pennsylvania.²³⁹

Although the first clear inscriptions to Apollo Ismenios and Athena Pronaia at the sanctuary have been dated to the sixth century BC, the cult of Apollo might be placed further back to ca.700-675BC if a number of other inscriptions can be traced back to Thebes, or even earlier if a burial *pithos* found in the Pyri suburb of Thebes in 1966, dating from 720-700BC, shows the celebration of an Apolline Daphnephoria (see Figure 17).²⁴⁰ Whatever the date of inception, the most notable features of the shrine from at least the Classical period were the dedicated tripods, such as referred to by Pindar (*Pythian* 11.4-5):

... πὰρ Μελίαν χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων
θησαυρόν, ὃν περίαλλ' ἐτίμασε Λοξίας,

and join Melia at the treasury of the golden tripods

²³⁵ Paus. 9.8.7; 9.10.2.

²³⁶ At least this was its meaning in the second century AD.

²³⁷ Schachter, 1967, 3. Inscriptions - see below.

²³⁸ Keramopoullos, 1917, 35ff. More recent excavations: *ADelt* 22 (1967 [1968]) *Chron.* B1: 232–33 and *AR* (1968/69) 18.

²³⁹ The excavation began in 2011. No results have yet been published, but an overview of the excavation can be found at <http://www.bucknell.edu/x79762.xml>, and associated links.

²⁴⁰ Schachter, 1967, 3 – artefacts include the Mantiklos or Tyskiewicz Apollo, and an inscription on the rim of a cauldron – see Keramopoullos, 1917, 35.1; Jeffrey, 1990, 94 – Jeffrey dates them to c700-675BC. Daphnephoria on *pithos* – see Langdon, 2001, 592ff.

the sanctuary which Loxias especially honoured²⁴¹

The custom of dedicating tripods was widespread in Archaic Greece from at least the eighth century BC, evidenced by their frequent appearances at Olympia, Athens, and Delphi.²⁴² Papalexandrou has suggested two categories of dedication represented by different forms: the first, found from the eighth century BC, sport anthropomorphic attachments in bronze and represent the glory (*kleos*) of the individual dedicants; the second, appearing during the seventh century BC, have naked youths supporting the handles of the dedicated object, symbolic perhaps of the collective offering of a group to the god.²⁴³ Tripod dedications in Boiotia, though only appearing in any number in the sixth century BC seem to correspond to these two modalities. The tripods at the Ismenion, like the others, fall into both categories.²⁴⁴

Individual dedications at the Ismenion are best exemplified by those recorded by Herodotus and Pausanias, even if some of these may have been spurious.²⁴⁵ Herodotus records a golden shield and spear sent by Croesus to Amphiaraos and housed at the Ismenion.²⁴⁶ How the items migrated from Amphiaraos to Apollo has long been unknown, but may now have been answered. In March 2005, a limestone column was discovered inscribed with eight lines in epichoric script (compatible with a date in the late sixth or early fifth century BC) and eight very damaged lines in Ionic script (probably inscribed in the early or mid-fourth century BC). The epigram consists of four couplets of dactylic hexameters and pentameters, which Papazarkadas has suggested concern the shield that the Lydian King Croesus dedicated to Amphiaraos. More recently, Thonemann has proposed an Athenian Croesus – possibly the son of the Alkmeon who had been the Lydian Croesus’ guest-friend (Hdt. 6.125) – as the dedicant, with the confusion an ‘optimistic over-interpretation’ by Herodotus, or perhaps a more willful deception on behalf of the Ismenion’s oracular personnel.²⁴⁷ Either way, from the epigram we learn that the shield was stolen and, with the help of the oracle of the Theban Apollo Ismenios,

²⁴¹ Trans. Race, 1997, 381. Melia is also mentioned in Pind. *Pai.*7.4 (fr. 52g).

²⁴² Schachter, 1967, 3; Pindar *Pyth.*11.4-5; geometric dedications, see Papalexandrou, 2008, 254.

²⁴³ Papalexandrou, 2008, 254.

²⁴⁴ Papalexandrou, 2008, 255.

²⁴⁵ Whether the golden tripod reported by Plutarch in his *Life of Solon* (4) – discarded by Helen of Troy, trawled from the sea near Miletus, awarded to the wisest by Delphi, and thereon passed on in mock humility by each of the seven sages before ending up at the Ismenion – was a real object is doubtful. It was more likely testament to the famous presence of tripods at the site. Its alternate location at Delphi suggests that the Ismenion was a local variation perhaps known to the Boiotian Plutarch.

²⁴⁶ Hdt.1.52.

²⁴⁷ See Thonemann, 2016, 158-164.

recovered by the supervisor of the shrine of Apollo, who set up the monument to commemorate the miraculous event. The reality behind the apparent movement of the oracle of Amphiaraos and the ‘discovery’ of the shield is unclear, but surely central to this whole story is the wish for these ‘prestigious’ items to remain in Thebes.²⁴⁸ It speaks of the prime importance to the Thebans of the Ismenion during the start of the fifth century BC.

Herodotus also reports seeing tripods with ‘Kadmeian’ lettering at the shrine (5.59):

Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήια γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμενίου ἐν
Θήβησι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τρίποσι τισὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἐόντα τοῖσι
Ἰωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἷς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει

Ἀμφιτρύων μ’ ἀνέθηκ’ ἐνάρων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων.

I have myself seen Kadmeian writing in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Boiotian Thebes, engraved upon certain tripods and for the most part resembling Ionian letters. One of the tripods has the following inscription:

Amphitryon dedicated me from the spoils of the Teleboans

It is possible that the tripods which Herodotus describes were real dedications of the Archaic or early Classical period, the link with Amphitryon, father of Herakles, proof of the belief in the Ismenion’s establishment in the heroic age.²⁴⁹ Thonemann suggests the dedication as a fictive composition of the seventh, sixth or fifth century BC, with the epigram added by the oracular personal to give the anonymous monument a spurious patina of antiquity; Herodotus both here and with the Croesus dedication stands accused by Thonemann of drawing large inferences from modest dedications at the sanctuary.²⁵⁰ Pausanias himself reported seeing a tripod dedicated by Amphitryon, but this was in commemoration of Herakles’ time as *Daphnephoros* (9.10.4). Herodotus’ and Pausanias’ Amphitryon tripod may have been one and the same, understood as a commemoration of victory in the fifth century BC and later confused with the rite of the Daphnephoria and turned into a dedication by Amphitryon of a tripod for

²⁴⁸ Evidence for a Theban oracle is tenuous although a close association of Amphiaraos at Thebes is suggested by Pindar *Nemean* 9.24-27, *Pythian* 8.39. Strabo places the oracle close to Thebes at Knopia – see Strabo 9.2.10 and Pausanias 9.8.3.

²⁴⁹ Larson suggests that what Herodotus saw were probably early dedications at the sanctuary founded at the end of the 8th century BC, where the oracle worked through empyromancy – Larson, 2007b, 98. Belief in heroic age use – Papalexandrou, 2008, 256-7.

²⁵⁰ Thonemann, 2016, 158, 160.

Herakles by the second century AD – evidence of the changing perceptions and meanings attested to the same objects at different periods.²⁵¹ Obviously the inscriptions seen by both were falsified, as Schachter suggests, but Papalexandrou prefers to see these less as ‘forgeries’ as a record of the prevalent beliefs about the tripod’s original dedicants.²⁵²

In addition to those dedications linked to individual *kleos*, the ‘treasury of golden tripods’ also seems to have housed dedications of Papalexandrou’s other class, the collective, and which provide evidence for a high degree of non-violent interaction between the various Boiotian communities at this time, exactly the complex interplay which played such a pivotal role in the fostering of a single cultural – and eventually political – Boiotian identity.²⁵³ For example, a late sixth-century BC limestone *kioniskos* (column drum) - once certainly a tripod support - bears the following dedicatory inscription:²⁵⁴

[— — — Ἀπόλ]λο̃νι Ποτνιῆς

... the people of Potniai [dedicated it] to Apollo

Potniai had originally been a separate settlement, but had during the Archaic period been annexed by Thebes.²⁵⁵ The dedication of a tripod by the people of Potniai suggests the role of cult in cementing these once separate communities.²⁵⁶ Such a scenario should be imagined on a wider geographical scale, for other dedicating communities – albeit less easily identified - are also in evidence. A poros column of the sixth or fifth century BC has the following fragmentary, inscription open to several different interpretations:²⁵⁷

[Ἀπόλλων]ι ἡισμ[ενίοι- - -]
 - - - - - εἰς κα- - - - -

²⁵¹ Schachter, 1981, 82 n.5.

²⁵² Papalexandrou, 2008, 256. Schachter, 1981, 82 n.5. Higbie uses the tripods at the Ismenion as an example of willing misinterpretation by Herodotus’ guide – perhaps a priest – with the intention of claiming a link with a prestigious past – Higbie, 2014, 12. On the creation of, and reaction to, ancient forgeries see Higbie, 2014, *passim*. The Kadmeian lettering, which Herodotus seems to imply were found on the tripod, may have offered the chance of creative interpretation.

²⁵³ Beck, 2014, 32. *ADelt* 3 (1917), 64; *ADelt* 13 (1930-1931), 105-118; *ADelt* 16B’ (1960)[1962], 147. Schachter sees these as evidence of the Thebans as leaders of the *Boiōtoi* at this time – Schachter, 2016, 44; see also Beck, 2014, 32 n.29.

²⁵⁴ Keramopoulos *ADelt* 3 (1917), 64. As certain tripod support – Mackil, 2013, 159.

²⁵⁵ See Strabo 9.2.24; Buck, 1979, 98.

²⁵⁶ Mackil, 2013, 186-187.

²⁵⁷ *SEG* 22.417; *SEG* 31.504 1; *ADelt* 13 (1930-1931), 106.

To Ismenion Apollo...set up by the [- -]eies and ...

While a third inscription on a stone base from the mid-fifth century BC (but re-inscribed around the mid-second century BC) has an incomplete dedication again for which a number of alternatives might be suggested:²⁵⁸

[Ἀπόλλωνι] ἱσμενίοι

[- -]μο ἄρχοντος

[- -]νεῖες ἀνέθειαν

To Ismenion Apollo ... set up by the [- -]neies

Several *ethnika* have been suggested for these last two inscriptions including the Koroneians and the *Thēbageneis*, the difference between the two – in terms of a growing Boiotian identity – being not unimportant.²⁵⁹ Koroneia would suggest a dominant role for Thebes and the Ismenion in the development of a unified Boiotia at this time; the *Thēbageneis* – a group of uncertain origin and nature – might speak of more local concerns, although these too may have been linked to a growing Boiotian unity. The *Thēbageneis* are associated with a ritual deposition of tripods at the Ismenion by several scholiasts.²⁶⁰ We hear of them, for example, from Pseudo-Ammonios:²⁶¹

Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θηβαγενεῖς διαφέρουσιν, καθὼς Δίδυμος ἐν ὑπομνήματι τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Παιάνων Πινδάρου φησὶν· ‘καὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀπὸ τούτου Θηβαγενεῖς πέμπουσι τὸν χρύσειον εἰς Ἴσμηνίου πρῶτον. τίς δ’ ἐστὶ διαφορὰ Θηβαγενέων πρὸς Θηβαίους, Ἐφορος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φησί· «οὗτοι μὲν οὖν συνετάχθησαν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν· τοὺς δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμόρους προσοικοῦντας ἰδία Θηβαῖοι προσηγάγοντο πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον, οἱ σύμμικτοι ἦσαν πολλαχόθεν, ἐνέμοντο δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα χώραν καὶ τὴν ἀπεναντίον τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Θηβαγενεῖς, ὅτι προσεγένοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις Βοιωτοῖς διὰ Θηβαίων.

²⁵⁸ Keramopoulos, *ADelt* 13 (1930–31), 106.

²⁵⁹ Schachter suggests various reading – Schachter, 1981, 83 n. 2 (cf. also 81 note 2) – Θεβαγεν]εῖες and [Θεβαγε]νεῖες.

²⁶⁰ Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* 11.4–6, for example, tells us that οἱ γὰρ Θηβαγενεῖς ἐτριποδοφόρουν ἐκεῖσε – ‘the *Thēbageneis* used to carry tripods there’. For dating of *Pythian* 11 to ca.474BC see Finglass, 2007, 5–27.

²⁶¹ Ammonios, *De Adfinium Vombubrum Differentia* – Nickau, 1966, 231.

The Thebans and the *Thēbageneis* are different, as Didymos states in his first commentary on the *Paianes* of Pindar: ‘And because of this the *Thēbageneis* first send the golden tripod to the Ismenion. As to what the difference is between *Thēbageneis* and the Thebans, in his second book Ephorus says— “The latter were counted amongst the Boiotians; the former enjoyed independence on the border with Attica, until many years later the Thebans annexed them. They were a mixture from many places and dwelt in the land beneath Kithairon and that opposite Euboia; their name was *Thēbageneis*, because they were added to the other Boiotians by the Thebans.”’

For Ephorus at least the name *Thēbageneis* - deriving as it does from *Thebaios* and the verb *gignomai* (to be/become) - seems to refer to a group who had *become* Theban, although the meaning ‘Thebes-born’ is another possible understanding.²⁶² Ephorus’ geographical swathe from below Kithairon across to Euboia is that of the Parasopia, and there may be a link between this territory and the communities known to be synoikized with Thebes in the early part of the Peloponnesian War and named in the fourth-century BC *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*: Erythrai, Skaphai, Skolos, Aulis, Schoinos, and Potniai.²⁶³ It appears that these Parasopid communities had been annexed by Thebes, possibly during the sixth century BC, and may originally have been considered somewhat separate.²⁶⁴ As Mackil states, insofar as the collective dedication of a tripod was an act by which control over a territory was symbolically transferred to a god, the *Thēbageneis*’ dedication of tripods signalled their surrender of control over their territory to the Thebans’ god, Apollo Ismenios, and thereby to the Thebans themselves.²⁶⁵

²⁶² Mackil, 2013, 186 n.157. *LSJ* provides a definition ‘sprung from Thebes’ s.v. *θηβαγενής*. No complete dedication exists naming the *Thēbageneis* as donors, and the question of the group’s self-identification is problematic. An inscribed sixth-century BC tombstone from Thebes bears the female name ‘Thebageia’ and has been linked by Inglese to Ephorus’ *Thēbageneis*, and interpreted of good relations between the Parasopia and Thebes at this time - Inglese, 2012, 22-23. An inscription on a fragment of a bronze sword at the sanctuary of the hero Ptoios at Kastraki ca.500BC (*SEG* 44.406) has been tentatively attributed to the *Thēbageneis*, evidence of their sixth-century BC existence as a self-conscious group – inscription Ducat, 1971, 430 no. 278. Once again the inscription is frustratingly incomplete, giving us [— — —]ενιες, for which Schachter has suggested both the hapax Erchomenies (Orchomenos) or *Thēbagenies* - Schachter, 1994, 13.

²⁶³ Inglese, 2012, 23; Schachter, 1981, 83 - *Hell.Oxy.* 17 (12). On Potniai as part of *Thēbageneis*, see Mackil, 2013, 186-187.

²⁶⁴ Mackil, 2014, 48-49; – see Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F21, Pindar *Pyth.* 11.114-5 (and scholiast).

²⁶⁵ Mackil, 2013, 187; see also Papalexandrou, 2008, 266–67. It is of interest, as Kowalzig points out, that Ismenias became the archetypal name of a Boiotian, symptomatic of how Apollo Ismenios and Boiotia coincided, with the name and its derivatives, other than in Thebes, surprisingly prominent amongst citizens of the cities around the Kopais - Kowalzig, 2007, 382 and n.127. *LGPN* IIIb s.v. *Ἰσμειν-, Ἰσμην-, Ἰσμιν-* has attestations from Thebes, Hyettos, Kopai, Orkhomenos, Koroneia, Chaironeia, and Thespiiai (though several attestations cannot be located); and an uncertain one at Tanagra (*IG* II² 3634.1); and at Anthedon on the Euboian Gulf (*IG* XII 9 91, 25).

Was this simply a local territorial matter, or has it any bearing on the question of Boiotian unity? As I mentioned in my Introduction, while the Asopos at times was the limit of the Theban *khōra*, the exact boundary was a source of continual contention. During the sixth century BC when Athenian power was increasing, it is understandable that the Thebans might take the chance of exerting their dominance over these smaller scattered *poleis*, offering their protection against the external threat. That the Parasopia was the focus of Theban ambition at the tail end of the sixth century BC is evident from the sources. In Book 6 of the *Histories* Herodotus describes the events of 519BC when having been ‘hard-pressed by Thebes’ - *πιεζέμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων* (6.108.2) – the Plataians had sought help, first from the Spartans, and next (the Spartans having refused), from the Athenians. The exact meaning of ‘hard-pressed’ is tied up with a curious phrase which Herodotus gives in the denouement of 6.108.5, that being ‘contributing to the Boiotians’:

μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων οὖρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε, ἔαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν.

As they were about to join battle, the Corinthians, who happened to be there, prevented them and brought about a reconciliation. Since both sides desired them to arbitrate, they fixed the boundaries of the country on condition that the Thebans leave alone those Boiotians who were unwilling to contribute to the Boiotians.²⁶⁶

An extract from Thucydides of the Theban speech before the destruction of Plataia in 427BC sheds some further light on what this may have meant (3.61.2):

ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον ὅτι ἡμῶν κτισάντων Πλάταιαν ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας καὶ ἄλλα χωρία μετ’ αὐτῆς, ἃ ξυμμείκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξέλασαντες ἔσχομεν, οὐκ ἡξίουσιν οὗτοι, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἔβλαπτον, ἀνθ’ ὧν καὶ ἀντέπασχον

²⁶⁶ The boundary was set at the river Asopos, cutting off an area of territory from Boiotia, for which a bronze tablet (one of four excavated in the Pyri suburb of Thebes in 2001/2002 by the local Ephorate of Antiquities) may record the sale or confiscation of land, six of the properties having a topographical relation to the river Asopos - Matthaiou, 2014, 219-222.

Our quarrel goes back to the time when, after we had settled the rest of Boiotia,²⁶⁷ we founded the city of Plataia together with some other places which we held and from which we had driven out the inhabitants who were of different and mixed nationalities. The Plataians then refused to abide by the original arrangement and recognise our supremacy. Proving false to their national traditions, they separated themselves from the rest of Boiotia, and when we used force against them they went over to the Athenians and, with Athenian help, did us much harm, for which they suffered some in return.²⁶⁸

There are two important points to be considered here. Firstly, by the Thebans at the very least, at the end of the sixth century BC the Plataians were believed to have belonged to a wider Boiotian community, a group with ‘national traditions’ (if τὰ πάτρια can be so translated), of which common religious cults might be imagined an important constituent. Secondly, the Thebans were claiming supremacy over Plataia. While it is not clear that the Thebans were claiming supremacy in Boiotia *as a whole* at this time (although Mackil has suggested that the tripod dedications at the Ismenion were instituted as a ritual obligation for each community towards Thebes, marking Thebes out as the putative leader of the Boiotians at this time), or whether this supremacy reflected the smaller territorial considerations between Thebes and the Parasopia, either way Herodotus’ account clearly couches the Theban move on the Parasopia in terms of Boiotian unity, for which Thebes was the driving force.²⁶⁹ So while this was not an attempt by Thebes to gain control of Boiotia *per se*, it is possible that on the disputed fringes of the Theban *khōra*, such as the Parasopia, the line between ‘contributing to the Boiotians’ and falling under Theban control was often blurred. More generally, the Thebans were certainly spearheading the drive to unify those scattered groups with their shared ‘national traditions’ with an eye to self-defence and the creation of a loose military collective, the financial reality

²⁶⁷ The Theban claim to have settled Boiotia may be rhetoric, or evidence of the habitual (and understandable) synecdoche wherein the ancient authors confused the Thebans and Boiotians as if the one stood for the other. It is tempting to read a more local understanding onto this claim, recalling the role Thebes had played as a refuge centre for the Parasopia – see Introduction.

²⁶⁸ Adapted from Warner, 1972, 230.

²⁶⁹ Theban supremacy - Mackil, 2013, 158. Although the exact identification of the dedicating groups leaves us unable to assess the scope of the ritual, whether it was purely local or involved further *poleis* such as Koroneia.

of such an organization arguably reflected in Herodotus' talk of those unwilling to 'contribute to the Boiotians' - ἐς Βοιωτῶνς τελέειν (6.108.4).²⁷⁰

The verb *teleein* has been linked by Mackil to the exacting of *telē* - taxes or resource contributions of some sort - and to the appearance ca.525BC of a common Boiotian coinage bearing the image of the Boiotian Shield (Figure 5).²⁷¹ This common coinage, previously interpreted as proof of the first appearance of the political Boiotian *koinon*, is best understood simply as evidence of economic cooperation, a parallel example being the issues of Arcadian coins linked to Pan-Arcadian festivals or games of Zeus Lykaeos before the existence of the Arcadian confederation.²⁷² Mackil has noted the odd coincidence that the first Boiotian *poleis* to mint coins – Thebes, Tanagra, and Hyettos – were *loci* of the conflict already mentioned during the sixth century BC, almost as if such conflict preceded entry into a minting union.²⁷³ Equally, the subsequent addition of Koroneia – another site of dispute - provides a list of minting *poleis* suggestive of those cities considered 'nearest to Thebes' by the Thebans themselves according to Herodotus – Tanagra, Thespiiai, and Koroneia (Hdt. 5.79.2) - which suggests to Mackil that the common coinage and Herodotus' Theban military ventures might be somehow linked.²⁷⁴ Only Orchomenos minted their own type (with a device variously interpreted as a sprouting grain or an amphora in place of the shield – see Figure 6) from the late sixth century BC down to the fourth century BC, the only *polis* to do so as far as is known.²⁷⁵ This independence on the part of Orchomenos is taken by Mackil as a sign that this economic cooperation was spearheaded by the Thebans.²⁷⁶ The unwillingness for the Orchomenians for their own coins to sport the 'Boiotian shield' may also give the nod to the understanding of the symbol as the shield of Herakles, Herakles being the central heroic figure

²⁷⁰ There is no evidence of a federal state at this time, but there seems to have been an effort to create a regional power structure which the Thebans were calling 'the Boiotians' - Mackil, 2013, 26.

²⁷¹ Contribution as financial – see Mackil, 2013, 295. Although the phrase has been typically interpreted to mean 'join the Boiotian league' Mackil has shown that Herodotos uses the verb *teleein* only once to refer unambiguously to group-belonging in which monetary issues played no part, while he uses *teleein* at least six times to mean 'pay' or 'spend'; Non-monetary group - 2.51.2; Pay, spend - 2.109.2, 125.6; 3.137.5; 7.118, 187.2; 9.93.4. See Mackil, 2013, 295. Appearance of coinage - Mackil, 2013, 26; Nielsen, 1996, 40-42, 50-56, 61.

²⁷² For coins used as evidence of a Boiotian confederacy, see Larsen, 1968, 32; Head, 1911, 343; Ducat, 1973, 62; Buck, 1979, 111 and 2008, 26. As economic – Mackil and Van Alfen, 2006, 221, 227–28; Mackil, 2013, 248. On Arcadia see Nielsen, 1996, 40-42, 50-56, 61.

²⁷³ Mackil, 2013, 26. On inter-Boiotian warfare see Introduction I.6.

²⁷⁴ Mackil, 2013, 29.

²⁷⁵ Mackil, 2013, 248.

²⁷⁶ Mackil, 2014, 47.

for the Thebans and their mythical protector.²⁷⁷ Larson in contrast suggests the shield as the Boiotian-made ‘cut-out’ shield of Ajax, manufactured at Hyle, a link therefore with the epic tradition.²⁷⁸ Lacroix, aware of this epic link, favours a pride in Boiotian craftsmanship (with the ox-hide shields renowned in epic as something of a national weapon of the Boiotians) as the meaning behind the shield, a symbol thus uniting Boiotian creativity and military prowess.²⁷⁹ Doubtless the symbol was capable of many different simultaneous meanings and interpretations by the various Boiotian communities, with Herakles one such example given the hero’s symbolic link by the sixth-century Thebans with the first victories of the Boiotian military collective.

The earliest military actions of the collective Boiotians are tied up with a nexus of events whose historical reality is itself questionable, that being the First Sacred War.²⁸⁰ The story as later related told of the Thessalian-led Delphic Amphiktyony’s reprisals against the profiteering city of Krisa, and the Thessalians’ subsequent reduction of Phokis and Lokris and penetration into Boiotia.²⁸¹ The Thessalians were finally defeated at the Battle of Keressos – a site located close to Thespiiai (see Figure 18) - where a jingoistic Plutarch records that the Boiotians ‘liberated the Greeks.’²⁸² The historicity of the Battle of Keressos is doubted, as are its exact location and date.²⁸³ Plutarch is in part responsible for this confusion, claiming in different

²⁷⁷ As shield of Herakles, see Head, 1891, 10; Rhys Roberts, 1911, 20; Demand, 1982, 19; but c.f. Lacroix, 1958, 9. As protector see Aravantinos, 2014, 205. Aravantinos cites Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.7, where the disappearance of weapons from the temple of Herakles revealed Herakles’ active involvement at Leuktra in 371BC; note also Herakles defence of Thebes against Erginos of Orchomenos (Diod. Sic. 4.18; Paus. 9.38.7; Polyainos 1.3.5 among others). Others have suggested the shield is that of Athena Itonia – Head, 1887, 291; but c.f. Lacroix, 1958, 8-9.

²⁷⁸ Larson’s suggestions include Ajax’s Boiotian-made shield in *Iliad* 7.219-225; a pun on the resemblance between the word Boiotia and that of ox-hide βοῒνη, like the seal (*phoke*) on the coins of Phokaia; a nod to Boiotian arms as an export, like Silphium on the coins of Kyrene; or alternatively, the shield as semantically meaningless - Larson, 2007b, 75 and 105. On Kyrene - see Kraay, 1976, 297.

²⁷⁹ Lacroix, 1958, 13 and 23. Larson’s ‘pun’ is taken more seriously by Lacroix as a possible understood etymology for Boiotia and the Boiotians themselves – 1958, 23-29.

²⁸⁰ Hammond’s easy summary of the events - 1986, 137-138 - belies the lateness of sources, and it has been argued that the conflict was an invention of the fourth century BC - Robertson, 1978, 38-73; Scott, 2010, 55; Hall, 2007, 276-283. On First Sacred War and the Delphic Amphiktyony, see Morgan, 2003, 124-125.

²⁸¹ On the inauguration of the Pythian games at this time see Scott, 2010, 35. See also *FGrH* 239 37-8; Paus. 10.7.4; Sanchez, 2001, 77. Invasion of Phokis, Hdt. 8.28; Paus. 10.1.3; Polyainos 6.18.2.

²⁸² Plut. *Cam.* 19.2. In contrast, Pausanias (9.14.2-3) records Keressos as being given up as un-takeable following a negative oracle from Delphi; hardly the liberating victory recorded by Plutarch.

²⁸³ Dates proposed: ca. 600BC: Fossey, 1990, 140; Helly, 1995, 141 with n. 25; ca. 570BC: Guillon, 1963, 69 n. 83; Shapiro, 1984a, 47 n. 52; ca. 520BC: Buck, 1979, 107-12; ca. 490BC: Sordi, 1953, 257, 1958, 85-90; Larsen, 1968, 30; and ca. 480BC: Jeffery, 1978, 76. Schachter sees the attempt to fix a date as futile - 2016, 45. For summary see Mackil, 2013, 24 n.14. Ducat has suggested fragments of weapons found at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios may have come from a dedication by the *Boiōtoi* to commemorate their victory at the battle,

places that the battle had taken place just before the Persian War, and around 200 years before the Battle of Leuktra, hence ca.571BC.²⁸⁴ It has been suggested that the Orchomenians played some role in the putative invasion of Boiotia by the Thessalians, potentially inviting the enemy in.²⁸⁵ Yet evidence of fortifications west of Orchomenos and on the acropolis of Chaironeia suggest defence *against* invaders from the west, perhaps Phokians, Lokrians, or Thessalians.²⁸⁶

Theban claims for regional leadership at this time have been read into a sixth-century BC literary source, the *Aspis*, or ‘Shield of Herakles’, a poem attributed to Hesiod which tells of the fight between the Theban Herakles and Thessalian Kyknos.²⁸⁷ If a Boiotian creation, it would be the first Boiotian source which uses the term *Boiōtoi* (*Aspis*, 24), the author describing the ‘horse-smiting Boiotians, breathing above their shields’ (Βοιωτοὶ πλῆξιπποι, ὑπὲρ σακέων πνείοντες).²⁸⁸ This may be the first documented link between Theban hegemonic aspirations and the use of the general term *Boiōtoi*, for while the fight between Herakles and Kyknos seems to suggest wider political concerns, there is a particular Theban colouring to the poem which Mackil interprets as poetic justification of the Theban leadership of the Boiotian military cooperation which faced the invading Thessalians after the First Sacred War.²⁸⁹ This Theban colouring is found, for example, in the singling out of Poseidon as protector of Thebes (*Aspis*, 105); if this is Poseidon of Onchestos, as one scholiast states, then this is possible evidence that during the sixth century BC Thebes was taking a proprietary interest in the rural shrine which was later to be closely associated with the Boiotian *koinon*, and whose important liminal position has already been discussed.²⁹⁰ What may be of even greater interest is the suggestion of Janko that the *Aspis* was composed for the inaugural celebration of the agonistic Herakleia

though no inscription remains - Ducat, *BCH* 97 (1973) 70. For plausible summary of events, see Mackil, 2013, 23.

²⁸⁴ Plut. *de mal. Her.* 33.4 (866F; ca. 480BC); Plut. *Cam.* 19.3 (ca. 571BC).

²⁸⁵ Buck, 1979, 110. Buck dovetails Keressos – which he places in 520BC – with the internal Boiotian conflicts of the sixth century BC - Buck, 1979, 111.

²⁸⁶ Mackil, 2013, 24; see Lauffer, 1985, 107 and Fossey and Gauvin, 1985, 64. This would argue against Buck’s suggestion that Orchomenos played some role in letting the Thessalians in.

²⁸⁷ Boiotian poet? - Mackil, 2013, 22. Schachter rejects a Boiotian poet owing to a number of geographical errors, preferring an Athenian – Schachter, 2016, 159, 180.

²⁸⁸ West dates the *Aspis* to a little after 570BC in light of a vase painting of Kyknos and Herakles dated ca.565BC - West, 1985, 136 and n.28; Janko to the third quarter of the sixth century BC - Janko, 1986, 48; Schachter ca.548-540/530BC – Schachter, 2016, 159; Mackil at the very least after 590BC, the supposed date of the First Sacred War, to which its final 8 lines allude - Mackil, 2013, 22.

²⁸⁹ Mackil, 2013, 23.

²⁹⁰ Mackil, 2013, 23; Schol. *Aspis* 105. Ducat, 1973, 71 suggested that during mid-sixth century BC Thebes extended its control to include Onchestos and the Teneric Plain; see also Farinetti, 2011, 226; Schachter, 1986, 214-216; Guillon suggests earlier, by end of the seventh century BC - Guillon, 1943, 66.

or Iolaia festivals in Thebes, games which Janko argues were introduced to celebrate and commemorate the victory of the Boiotians over Thessaly at Keressos, an idea Mackil finds particularly attractive.²⁹¹ Evidence of just such an *agōn* at Thebes is found in a funerary inscription from Troizen which Janko has dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BC (*IG* VI 801):²⁹²

Δαμοτίμοι : τόδε σᾶμα : φίλα φεργάσ(σ)ατο μάτερ
 Ἀμφιδάμα : οὐ γὰρ παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἐγένοντο.
 καὶ τρίπος, ἣ ὃν Θέβασσι θεὸν ἔνικε[ν ὅδ' ἐστὶ].
 [νῦν μὲν τι]μᾶ[ν] ἐστ' ἀπαθές : ἐπέθεκε δὲ παιδί.

This tomb was made for Damotimos by his loving mother. For no children were born from his house. Here too is the tripod which he won from the footrace in Thebes ... unharmed, and she set it up over her son²⁹³

Not only is this the earliest inscriptional evidence for any *agōn* within Boiotia, but it already speaks of an extra-regional clientele, and hence a wide scope for the self-promotion of the Thebans who had set the games up; a promotion which doubtless reiterated the leading role of Thebes in the Boiotian community, with Herakles as their central symbol. As will be discussed in the following chapter, Pindar gives ample evidence for games sacred to Herakles at Thebes during the fifth century BC, associated with the *temenos* of Herakles beside the Elektran Gate on the south side of the Theban Kadmeia.²⁹⁴ Excavations at the site have revealed evidence of a cult of Herakles and especially his sons from no later than the end of the eighth century BC, with a mass of vase votives dedicated to Herakles dating from the sixth century BC.²⁹⁵ Such an increase in votive dedication ought to suggest a change in the importance of the shrine, perhaps associated with the inauguration of games. Equally, this site lies directly

²⁹¹ Janko, 1986, 48 and n.62; Mackil, 2013, 24 - Mackil incorrectly attributes this theory to Shapiro. The pattern of inauguration to commemorate a military victory (more precisely a Theban-led victory) was to be repeated with the Delia and Basileia, commemorating Theban-led Boiotian victories against the Athenians (424BC) and Spartans (371BC) respectively – see below esp. 2.7 and 4.4.3 (Delia), and 2.6 and 3.3.3. (Basileia).

²⁹² Janko, 1986, 48. Dated by Jeffrey to 550-525BC, although Jeffrey attributes it to a festival at the Ismenion - Jeffrey, 1990, 176.

²⁹³ Trans. Thomas, 2007, 162. The inscription may in fact be on the tripod base.

²⁹⁴ A very full description is given in *Isthmian* 3/4 61-72.

²⁹⁵ Aravantinos, 2014, 154-157. Schachter has suggested eight local heroes as the original incumbents with Iolaos as a Promachos, a defender of the citadel - Schachter, 1986, 17-18, 64-65. Topography of Promachos see Pharaklas, 1996, 58, 6. On the recently discovered sacred precinct of Herakles and the votives discovered there, see Aravantinos, 2014, 149 – 210.

adjacent to the hilltop sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios where the tripods from the *Thēbageneis* were ritually deposited. The physical proximity of these centres of Boiotian community-building ought not to be dismissed as coincidental.²⁹⁶

1.4 Summary

During the Archaic period, the interactions of scattered communities at a number of often liminal Boiotian sanctuaries played a key role in the development of a unified Boiotian identity, such ‘communities of interaction’ forming the nucleus of the later Boiotian *koinon* through a sharing of common cult and tradition - what Thucydides termed *ta patria*. The sanctuaries of Poseidon at Onchestos and Apollo Ptoios show evidence of activity during the geometric period, hinting at the early role they played in fomenting unity through common cult. During the Archaic period, together with the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, these sanctuaries reveal evidence of communal interaction and, during the sixth century BC, monumental building programmes. As will be seen in the next chapter, by the first half of the fifth century BC the Itonion and Onchestos were home to *agōnes* at which aristocratic Boiotians competed, and for which they were celebrated by their fellow Boiotians; that these games were present during the sixth century is not unfeasible. The earliest Boiotian *agōn* for which we possess epigraphic evidence, however, is the Herakleia at Thebes, whose inauguration, it has been suggested, may be linked to the defeat of the Thessalians by a Theban-led Boiotian collective at Keressos, possibly ca.571BC. If correct, this would be the first example of the use of an agonistic festival as a promotion of a collective Boiotian identity into the wider world.

During the sixth century BC the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes became the *locus* of ritual dedications cementing the relations of scattered Boiotian communities, dedications demonstrating Theban territorial aspirations but which may also have been part of the Theban push for a closer Boiotian unity, almost certainly linked to the external threats of Thessaly and Athens.²⁹⁷ It was arguably such threats which spurred the development of what

²⁹⁶ The interplay between the sanctuaries might be suggested by the tripod of Amphitryon seen by Herodotus (5.59), and the story of Herakles as the *Daphnephoros* at the sanctuary (9.10.4). The physical proximity and clear visibility of Keressos from the Vale of the Muses made me consider whether this played any role in the later pan-Boiotian interest in the Mouseia?

²⁹⁷ Perhaps sometimes at the same time. The story of Boiotian-Thessalian-Athenian interaction during the sixth century BC is a complex one, but with close relations between Thessaly and the Athenian Peisistratids for at least part of this century – a friendliness indicated by the naming of one of Peisistratus’ sons Thettalos. On

Larson has termed a ‘loose *ethnos*’ into the economic and military collective evident by the end of the century.²⁹⁸

relations between Thessaly and Athens see Thuc. 6.55.1 and Buck, 1979, 108. It might therefore be imagined that just as the Thessalian actions have been cited as a major factor in the development of Phokian ethnogenesis, the same is also true for the unified Boiotians - Morgan, 2003, 132.

²⁹⁸ Larson imagines such a loose *ethnos* in existence until the battle of Koroneia in 447BC - Larson, 2007b, 189 - but Beck has argued that by the end of the Archaic period the *ethnos* of the Boiotians had reached the maximum level of trans-local integration that was thinkable at its time – Beck, 2014, 41.

Chapter Two: The Classical Period (479-323BC)

Boiotian Games

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the continued development of the Boiotian cult festivals and *agōnes* through the Classical period (479-323BC), alongside the historical development of the Boiotian *koinon*. In the first section I discuss how festivals – specifically those with an agonistic content - became the *locus* of aristocratic elite activity and self-expression during the fifth century BC, and were integral to the creation of the political Boiotian *koinon* ca.446BC through their emphasis on the importance of being Boiotian. My primary source for this early material is Pindar, with whose floruit it coincides. Following this I will examine the appearance of the Boiotian migration tradition during this same period and discuss the integral relationship between this tradition and the pan-Boiotian religious festivals. The second section will discuss the evidence for the continued development of the agonistic festivals and the creation of new *agōnes* following the appearance of the *koinon*, examining the role these games played in the development of the idea of Boiotian self-identity during the middle and later part of the Classical period down to the beginning of the Hellenistic.

2.2 The Boiotian *Koinon* down to the Battle of Koroneia 446BC

That the majority of the Boiotian *poleis* found themselves on the ‘wrong’ side during the Persian War is arguably the most important fact in their history, cementing as it did their already negative reputation.²⁹⁹ The pragmatism of this decision in the face of the inevitability of invasion, and the fact that the Boiotians did not act alone, is often overlooked.³⁰⁰ But the fighting of the battle of Plataia on Boiotian soil, and the active involvement of the Boiotian

²⁹⁹ The ‘age-old’ taunt of Boiotian Swine – Pindar *Olymp.* 6.90 – see above I.2.

³⁰⁰ It has been noted that Herodotus’ roll-call of the Medizers (7.132) is suspiciously close to the putative make-up of the Delphic Amphiktyony of the period, which may suggest that this was a more collective decision than simply a case of Boiotian weakness – see for example Lefevre, 1998, 21–139; Sanchez 2001, 37–41.

poleis other than the Plataians and Thespians on the Persian side, meant that by the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Boiotians were keen to lay the blame at the feet of just a few prominent Theban individuals. In Thucydides' debate before the destruction of Plataia in 427BC, the Thebans palmed their Medism onto a 'small group of powerful men' who had run a form of government 'nearest to dictatorship and farthest removed from law and the virtues of moderation.'³⁰¹ This was Theban rhetoric no doubt; a helpful fiction in which the Boiotians as a whole could blame Thebes, and the Thebans a narrow oligarchy. In contrast, Herodotus' narrative suggests that Theban Medism was not the policy of a single clan, much less the two individuals (Timagenidas and Attaginos) who seem to have become scapegoats.³⁰² Timagenidas' defence from a besieged Thebes after the battle of Plataia in 479BC clearly denounces Medism as a common action (Hdt. 9.87):

Ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὧν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἢ Βοιωτὴ πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρῆζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαίτεόνται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμῆδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μόνον ἡμεῖς),

Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not raise the siege till Thebes be taken or we be delivered to them, now let not the land of Boiotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake; nay, if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury - for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian part³⁰³

What exactly Timagenidas meant by *koinon* in his 'common treasury' and 'common will' is unclear.³⁰⁴ To Mackil the word suggests a form of government, but not a federation *per se*.³⁰⁵ The term *koinon*, like that of *ethnos*, is a fluid one, and it is important to remember that the use of the word 'community' or 'group' does not in itself inform us as to the nature of that

³⁰¹ 3.62.2 - trans. Warner, 1972, 231.

³⁰² Mackil, 2013, 31. The two men were prominent in Herodotus' account - Timagenidas advised Mardonios before Plataia (9.38.2); Attaginos hosted a banquet for Persians in Thebes (9.115.4).

³⁰³ Adapted from Godley, 1925, 261.

³⁰⁴ Hdt. 9.87.2. The allies refused the offer of money, and the traitors were executed in Corinth (Hdt. 9.88).

³⁰⁵ Mackil, 2013, 31. Use in Herodotus - see 1. 67.5 (re. Sparta); 3.80.6 (debate on constitutions, here used for an isonomic government that debates issues); 5.85.1 (Athens), 109.3 (Ionians, which may have a very similar connotation to the use of the word in the Boiotian context; some manuscripts read κοινὰ here instead of κοινὸν); 6.14.3 (Samos); 8.135.2 (Boiotia again); 9.117 (Athens).

community or group. Any reference to Boiotia or the Boiotian *koinon* up until 446BC may in fact refer to a geographical, economic, military, religious, or political grouping, or all, or part; it cannot be assumed to indicate a political organization along the lines of the post-446BC Boiotian Federation as described by the Oxyrhynchus Historian, the belief in the formation of such a League in the late sixth century BC (nominally ca.519BC) having fallen out of favour.³⁰⁶ Only Herodotus' account of the orders given by the Boiotarchs – the magistrates of the later federal Boiotian League – for the men of the Asopos to lead the Persian army (9.15.1) suggests an early existence. His use of the term has been dismissed as anachronistic by some, or proof of a League at this time by others.³⁰⁷ Recent epigraphical evidence, however, may acquit Herodotus from the former charge. A bronze tablet, a public document stored in the sanctuary of Herakles near the Elektran Gate at Thebes and dated provisionally to the first half of the fifth century BC by Aravantinos, ends with the genitive absolute βοιοταρχίοντος – ‘during the period as Boiotarch’ possibly as a dating formula.³⁰⁸ The use of the ethnic θεβαῖος suggests to Aravantinos that the document was issued by the Boiotian *koinon* rather than the *polis* of Thebes, such uses of the ethnic for own-citizens in domestic administration being almost non-existent.³⁰⁹ Yet even the use of this term – as Mackil points out – is still not evidence for a fully functioning federal state.³¹⁰ The Boiotarchs may simply have been Theban magistrates – all epigraphic examples for the first half of the fifth century BC have a Theban context - pursuing the Thebans' wider aspirations of regional political unification; the magistrates' title would then have been more normative than descriptive.³¹¹

As I mentioned in my Introduction, the Athenians seem to have recognized the Boiotians as a discrete and active group – an *ethnos* - by 507/506BC; a group also liable to prosecution by the end of the Persian War, although the exact nature of their common polity is unknown.³¹² Mackil's guess is that the political cooperation was loose and *ad hoc* prior to and probably

³⁰⁶ For traditional view of development of *koinon* during late sixth century BC, see Larsen, 1968, 29-30; Buck, 1979, 107-20; Ducat, 1973, 59-73. Demand (1982, 17, 20) and Hansen (1995, 30) express scepticism about the existence of a formal *koinon* at this time. Larson suggests a loose-*ethnos* only before Koroneia – Larson, 2007b, 189; while Mackil, 2013, 37-38 imagines a formalization of institutions after this date but built upon an already close union, a union such as Beck has suggested had by the end of the Archaic period reached the maximum level of trans-local integration that was thinkable at its time – Beck, 2014, 41.

³⁰⁷ Anachronism – Demand, 1982, 18; proof of League - Buck, 1979, 124.

³⁰⁸ Aravantinos, 2014, 201.

³⁰⁹ Aravantinos, 2014, 202.

³¹⁰ Mackil, 2013, 29-30. Boiotarch see Aravantinos, 2010, 233; also SEG 59.498 = Thebes museum inv.no. 41063, early fifth century BC - Aravantinos, 2014, 199-202.

³¹¹ Mackil, 2013, 30.

³¹² Mackil, 2013, 32; SEG 26.475; SEG 31.358.

throughout the Persian Wars, although it was moving toward greater formalization under Theban leadership, taking tentative steps towards a regional state.³¹³ The first known personal dedication where an individual identifies himself as Boiotian may also date from this time, the lettering suggesting a date ca.475BC.³¹⁴ This is the dedication of one Epiddalos of Orchomenos, found on a statue base at Delphi (*FD* III 1.574):

Ἐπίδδαλος τὸ πό[λλονι]
 Βοιότιος : ἐχς Ἐρχ[ομενο]
 [h]υπατόδορος : Ἀρισστ[ογείτον]
 ἐποεσάταν : Θεβαίο.

Epiddalos a Boiotian (to Apollo?) from Orchomenos; Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton made this, from Thebes.

Curiously, the first man to hold up his hand and admit to being Boiotian is an Orchomenian, a member of a community which refused to mint coins with the Boiotian shield on until the beginning of the fourth century BC. Some would therefore see Epiddalos as a visitor to Orchomenos at this time, perhaps even an exiled Medizer from Thebes.³¹⁵ The epigraphic record is too inconsistent to allow a reliable picture of what exactly is going on – the single use of an *ethnikon* does not necessarily imply an overall coherence, just a personal belief or perception.³¹⁶ As an individual, Epiddalos could present himself however he wished, and his claim to be Boiotian could rest on any number of personal assumptions: at one extreme political or cultural, at the other merely geographical – he could for example simply be distinguishing his Orchomenos from that in the Peloponnese.³¹⁷ As Beck states, all that we truly know is that just after the Persian War the idea of the *Boiōtoi* had arrived in one way or another in Orchomenos.³¹⁸

³¹³ Mackil, 2013, 32 and 38.

³¹⁴ Lazzarini, 1976, 228, 374. See also *SEG* 48.596 for an earlier dating.

³¹⁵ Visitor - Larson, 2007b, 149; exiled Medizer - Beck, 2014, 30 n.27. In contrast Roesch talks of the term *Boiotios* as evidence of a federal citizenship at this time – Roesch, 1982, 441-501.

³¹⁶ Beck, 2014, 30. The dedication referring to the artists mentioning Thebes reveals to Beck that the Boiotian reference belongs to them as well and hence to a collective applying to a multiplicity of sub-ethnics

³¹⁷ Larson suggests this geographical role, though does not discount a possible marker of federal citizenship; maybe marking the change at this time to an individual level in the internal perception of the group, post Koroneia 446BC - Larson, 2007b, 149.

³¹⁸ Beck, 2014, 30.

Nothing is recorded of the events in Boiotia during the immediate post-war period. In 457BC the Athenians defeated the Boiotians at Oinophyta – a possible retaliation for aiding the Spartans at the battle of Tanagra the previous year – and imposed a decade of Athenian rule.³¹⁹ In the winter of 447/6BC a group of Boiotian exiles, who became known as the ‘Orchomenizers’, seized Orchomenos and Chaironeia and began the struggle for freedom from Athens.³²⁰ In the spring of 446BC the Boiotians defeated the Athenian General Tolmides at Koroneia, and were liberated.³²¹ That the victory occurred in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia no doubt had a profound effect on that sanctuary’s future importance as a religious site to the Boiotian Federation. The Athenian occupation was a possible catalyst for the formation of the Boiotian League of the Oxyrhynchus Historian, whose appearance is usually dated to post-Koroneia ca.446BC.³²²

2.3 Pindar and the Boiotian *Agōnes*

While the later Hellenistic Boiotian *koinon* met at the sanctuary of Onchestos, and the Roman-era *koinon* at the Itonion at Koroneia, immediately after 446BC it met at Thebes, as it may have done during its development in the first half of the fifth century BC.³²³ Aside from military matters, much of their concern would have been the everyday running, organization, and funding of the common Boiotian sanctuaries and their festivals. These latter especially were an important *locus* of aristocratic ambition, and the evidence of Pindar suggests (as I will discuss presently) that the prominent Boiotian elites wished to be seen excelling on a specifically pan-Boiotian stage. It was these elites – the wealthy, powerful and influential figures in Greek society – who commissioned Pindar to compose his *epinikia*, providing the

³¹⁹ Thucydides suggests Athenian ambition as a motive, and speaks of only one battle at Tanagra (1.107.2–108.2); Diodorus speaks of a Spartan-Theban alliance and speaks of two battles (11.81.1–2). See Mackil, 2013, 33 n.55.

³²⁰ Thuc. 1.113.1. Orchomenizers - Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 81; Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 407; Aristophanes *FGrH* 379 F 3. Mackil has suggested the lack of Thebes in this line-up may reflect Theban weakness at this time, the result of numerous setbacks Mackil, 2013, 37. Plut. *Ages.* 19.2; Dull, 1977, 313. Exiles from Lokris and Euboea are mentioned in Thuc. 1.113.2.

³²¹ Thuc. 1.113.1–2; the liberation of Boiotia, see Thuc.3.62.4.

³²² Beck, 2014, 37. The timing suggests that the military coalition which drove out the Athenians then became a political federation - Kurke, 2007, 70.

³²³ Onchestos – see *IG* VII 27; 28; 209-212; 214-218; 220-222; 1747; 1748; 1750; 1755; XII 9.912; and *SEG* 3.361; 23.281; 25.504, the majority of which date to the end of the third century BC and beginning of the second century BC, none later than 171BC - Schachter, 1986, 208. Itonion – see Paus. 9.34.1; *IG* VII 3426. *Koinon* at Thebes - *Hell. Oxy.* 16.2–4 (Bartoletti).

first clear evidence of the personal agency lacking in the earlier dedications.³²⁴ Not only did this involvement with the sanctuaries and their games increase the prestige of the elite individuals and their families, but at the same time, the invitation to foreigners to share in the *agōnes* became a way of projecting ‘Boiotianness,’ and Boiotian identity, into the wider Greek world. As I argued in my Introduction, the choices of the cults or events promoted and commemorated through the *agōnes* became a measure of precisely those things which the Boiotians themselves deemed important and wished to be remembered for. That a number of these games celebrated Boiotian unity suggests the central role they played in both the fomenting of, and wider promotion of, an increasingly robust Boiotian identity, and the growing importance of this unity to the aristocratic elite.

The *Suda* places the birth of Pindar in the 65th Olympiad (520-516BC) in Kynoskephalai near Thebes, with his earliest datable ode (*Pythian* 10) written in 498BC, his latest (*Pythian* 8) in 446 BC.³²⁵ His floruit thus coincides exactly with the period summarized above, from the beginning of the fifth century BC, through the Persian War, and down to the formation of the federal Boiotian League post-Koroneia 446BC. As such, the poetry of Pindar allows us a glimpse into this world of elite competition and self-expression, of elite interaction, at precisely the time of the crystallization of the political Boiotian *koinon*. The works of Pindar are a source of information on innumerable aspects of the Archaic and Classical period, but my interest is here limited to the evidence Pindar provides of the network of *agōnes* participated in within Boiotia; and of the importance of this form of self-expression among the elites.³²⁶ Pindar’s *epinikia* in many ways represent a literary equivalent to the monumental statues and inscribed dedicatory epigrams whose appearance after the mid-sixth century, with their celebration of individual achievement, paved the way for the ‘individualized’ odes of Simonides and subsequently Pindar.³²⁷ In many ways the two forms developed in tandem, both evidence of the growing importance of the Games in the sixth century and beyond as a focus for competition between the aristocratic elite of Greece, and between their cities.³²⁸ Pindar’s odes provide us

³²⁴ Hornblower and Morgan, 2007, 4.

³²⁵ *Suda* (s.v. *Píndaros*); Race, 1997, 5.

³²⁶ Even a cursory bibliography of the full range Pindar scholarship is beyond the scope of this thesis. For my current theme, however, the essays collected in Hornblower and Morgan (2006) have been of particular use.

³²⁷ Thomas, 2007, 165.

³²⁸ Thomas, 2007, 165. The competition between cities will be discussed in later chapters, especially where the inter-polis rivalries within Boiotia seem to have fuelled something of an agonistic arms race – see for example Chapters Three and Five, on the booms experienced at the end of the third century BC and following the Mithridatic Wars in the first century BC.

with evidence of these elite concerns, and (inside Boiotia) with evidence of the importance of the local agonistic networks.

At the beginning of the fifth century BC, common Boiotian agonistic festivals were sites of continued inter-Boiotian networking by the aristocratic elite of various cities, which thus provided the substructure that enabled the eventual crystallization of the Boiotian *koinon*.³²⁹ The importance of this inter-Boiotian networking is revealed most clearly in Pindar's *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles* (fr.94b), a hymn which may have been linked to the celebration of the rite of the *Daphnephoria* in which a boy from a prominent Theban family was made priest of Apollo Ismenios for a year.³³⁰ Proclus describes the *Daphnephorikon* as a type of *Partheneia* or maiden-song, sung by a chorus of girls usually accompanied by pipes, and which 'praised men and gods alike'.³³¹ It is precisely the praise of the family of Aioladas in Pindar's hymn which interests us here (fr.94b 38-49):

μάρτυς ἦλυθον ἐς χορόν
ἐσλοῖς τε γονεῦσιν
ἀμφὶ προξενίαισι· τί-
μαθεν γὰρ τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν
τ' ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν
ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων πο[λυ-
γνώτοις ἐπὶ νίκαις,
Δ' αἶψ' ἐν αἰόνεσσιν Ὀγχη[στοῦ κλυ]τᾶς,
ταῖς δὲ ναὸν Ἰτωνίας ἀ[μφ' εὐκλέ]α
χαίταν στεφάνοις ἐκό-
σμηθεν ἔν τε Πίσσᾳ περιπ[

As a faithful witness for Agasikles
I have come to the dance
and for his noble parents
because of their hospitality, for both of old

³²⁹ Kurke, 2007, 91.

³³⁰ The hymn is itself untitled and given this name by Grenfell and Hunt in 1904. It is not certain if this is a *Daphnephorikon*, or if Agasikles is to be identified as the *daphnephoros*, or even if the rite at this time can be linked to the yearly priesthood, something only attested as late as Pausanias (9.10.4). I will return to this below.

³³¹ Proclus *Chrest.* in Photius (Cod. 239, pp. 321a-b Bekker).

and still today they have been honoured
 by their neighbours
 for their celebrated victories
 with swift-footed horses,
 for which on the shores of famous Onchestos
 and also by the glorious temple of Itonia
 they adorned their hair with garlands
 and at Pisa . . .³³²

Here we note the importance of agonistic victories at those sanctuaries – Poseidon at Onchestos and Athena Itonia at Koroneia – which had already proved important during the Archaic period and were to assume an even greater importance to the later political Boiotian *koinon*. I will return to a detailed discussion of these games below, as well as the Pindaric evidence for other Boiotian *agōnes*. For the present I wish to emphasize another aspect of the passage quoted above, that of the ‘hospitality’ or more literally ‘role as *proxenoi*’ (προξενίασι l.41) of the family of Aioladas.³³³ Mackil has recently linked this role with their being honoured ‘by their neighbours’ (ἀμφικτιόνεσσιν ll.41), a connection revealed in another of Pindar’s songs, his fourth Isthmian ode, where the Kleonymidai - the family of the Theban victor Melissos – are praised for their extra-Theban interests (4.7-9):³³⁴

τοὶ μὲν ὧν Θήβαισι τιμά-
 εντες ἀρχᾶθεν λέγονται
 πρόξενοί τ’ ἀμφικτιόνων κελαδεννᾶς τ’ ὀρφανοί
 ὕβριος·

But from the beginning they are said
 to have been honoured in Thebes
 as hosts of neighbouring peoples and free of loud-voiced
 arrogance;³³⁵

³³² Trans. Race, 1997, 327.

³³³ Proxeny and ritualized friendship (*xenia*) were an especial elite preoccupation, and examples of the institutions by which individuals with the disposable wealth for travel and gift-exchange maintained contact with the Greeks of distant cities – see Hornblower and Morgan, 2007, 6.

³³⁴ See Mackil, 2013, 161 and 166; Kowalzig, 2007, 385. On role of proxenos see Marek, 1984, 125-6; Mackil, 2003, 178-80.

³³⁵ Adapted from Race, 1997, 163.

Mackil has suggested that the institution of proxeny may have developed as an extension of the pre-political institution of *xenia*, ties of friendship between elites of different communities, in response to the development of the *polis*; that the family of Agasikles (and no doubt Melissos) could have served as witnesses, protectors, hosts, and promoters of the interests of neighbouring communities in Thebes.³³⁶ Thus the combination of terms refers to the standing of the families amongst the other Boiotians, suggesting that what was important – at the very least for one’s standing in Thebes – was a reputation on a pan-Boiotian stage.³³⁷ What is more, Kurke has argued that the *amphiktiones* Pindar mentions may have been those who participated in the same cults, rather than being merely ‘neighbours’.³³⁸ If correct, Pindar’s *amphiktiones* may reveal the existence of formal religious bodies tied to the sanctuaries of Athena Itonia at Koroneia and Poseidon at Onchestos.³³⁹ These *amphiktiones* would then be precisely the kind of network – formed through elite interaction at the prominent religious cult sites – which underlay the creation of the post-446BC military and political *koinon*.³⁴⁰ It is to the evidence for the separate *agōnes* at which the Boiotian elites of Pindar’s day competed and interacted that I now turn.

2.3.1 Poseidon at Onchestos

We know from Pindar that there were fifth-century BC games at Onchestos. The poet mentions celebrated victories by the family of Aioladas ‘on the shores of famous Onchestos’ in his *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles* (fr.94b 44-49), victories for which they ‘adorned their hair with garlands’ and were lauded ‘by their neighbours’. He mentions Onchestos again in regard of horse-racing in his ode for Herodotos of Thebes (*Isth.*1.33-34):

ἐγὼ δὲ Ποσειδάωνι Ἴσθμῳ τε ζαθέα
Ὀγχηστίαισιν τ’ αἰόνεσσιν περιστέλλων αἰοιδάμ

³³⁶ Mackil, 2013, 162.

³³⁷ Kowalzig, 2007, 385.

³³⁸ Kurke, 2007, 90; Mackil, 2013, 162.

³³⁹ Kowalzig, 2007, 385.

³⁴⁰ But c.f. Funke who highlights the non-ethnic, trans-regional scope of *amphiktiones* – i.e. if such associations contained people just considered ‘Boiotian’ then this would not be classed as an amphiktyony at all – Funke, 2013, 461. That Onchestos and the Itonia were the central sanctuaries of the federal *koinon* during the Hellenistic period and beyond may be testament to this integrating role. See for example the Hellenistic inscription *IG IX² 1.170* from 301BC, a treaty between Aitolia/Phokis and Boiotia to be sworn in Boiotia at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos, in the Alalkomeneion, and at Koroneia in the sanctuary of Athena.

But as I array Poseidon and the sacred Isthmus
and Onchestos' shores in my song,

and a few lines later (52-54):

ἄμμι δ' ἔοικε Κρόνου σεισίχθον' υἱόν
γείτον' ἀμειβομένοις εὐεργέταν
ἀρμάτων ἵπποδρόμιον κελαδεῖσαι,

But it befits us to celebrate Kronos' earth-shaking son,
our neighbour and patron of horse racing, as we requite
his assistance to the chariots,³⁴¹

As I discussed in Chapter One, the existence of the sixth-century BC temple at the site is evidence for an already organized and relatively well-funded cult. Equally, a dedication from the fifth century BC (*SEG* 27.62) which refers to a priest, Pouthinas, suggests organization imposed by a higher group, either the nascent *koinon* or a formalized *amphiktyony* – perhaps that mentioned by Strabo and to which I referred in the previous chapter – the two no doubt overlapping in significant ways.³⁴² Mackil has proposed that the *amphiktiones* (fr.94b 41-43) honouring the family of Aioladas are suggestive of such a higher organization, 'if Pindar's amphiktyonic language has not misled us'.³⁴³ All of which suggests a widespread community of interaction at the site from at least the sixth century BC, and which by Pindar's time included agonistic competition.

I began the Introduction of this thesis with a passage from Pindar's *epinikian* ode for Diagoras of Rhodes of 464BC, celebrating his victory at Olympia in the boxing. Amongst an impressive list of victories, Pindar mentioned Diagoras' success at the 'duly-ordered games of the Boiotians' (*Olympian* 7.84-86):

ὃ τ' ἐν Ἄργει χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν, τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ
ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις, ἀγῶνές τ' ἔννομοι
Βοιωτίων

³⁴¹ Adapted from Race, 1997, 139-141.

³⁴² Mackil, 2013, 165. On the priesthood see Schachter 1986, 216 n. 5, 218.

³⁴³ Mackil, 2013, 165. On the *amphiktiones*, see below.

Πέλλανά τ' Αἴγινά τε νικῶνθ'
ἐξάκις·

The bronze in Argos came to know him, as did the works of art in Arcadia and Thebes, and the duly ordered games of the Boiotians and Pellana; and Aegina knew him victorious six times.³⁴⁴

The identification of these Boiotian games is problematic, and it is not even clear if Pindar is referring to one *agōn* or many; all that seems clear is that Pindar's phrasing implies that they were separate from the games at Thebes.³⁴⁵ Given the integral role in the development of the Boiotian *koinon*, the identity of the unnamed *agōn* at Onchestos as Pindar's Boiotian Games is tempting. What we *do* know about these games is that they were not an exclusively Boiotian affair: that cannot be the meaning of 'Boiotian' for we hear of them only from the victory roll of Diagoras who after all comes from Rhodes.³⁴⁶ Instead the word suggests games organized by the collective Boiotians, presumably – given the date of composition (464BC) pre-dating the formalized political *koinon* – at one of the key religious sanctuaries.

The Ode for Herodotos of Thebes may also provide us with the name of an *agōn* otherwise unattested, that taking place at the 'glen of Minyas' (*Isthm.*1.52-58):

ἄμμι δ' ἔοικε Κρόνου σεισίχθον' υἱόν
γείτον' ἀμειβομένοις εὐεργέταν
ἀρμάτων ἵπποδρόμιον κελαδῆσαι,
καὶ σέθεν, Ἀμφιτρώων,
παῖδας προσειπεῖν τὸν Μινύα τε μυχόν
καὶ τὸ Δάματρος κλυτὸν ἄλσος Ἑλευ-
σῖνα καὶ Εὐβοίαν ἐν γναμπτοῖς δρόμοις·

But it befits us to celebrate Kronos' earth-shaking son,

³⁴⁴ Trans. Race, 1997, 133. Willcock, 1995, 131 explains ἐννομοί 'duly ordered' as 'fixed in the calendar', 'annual', or 'local' depending on the understanding of νομος. Race suggests tripods as the 'art' – Race, 1997, 133 n.18.

³⁴⁵ *Agōnes* seems to refer to the Boiotian games and Pellana in Lakonia, but Schachter, 2016, 61 seems to suggest the Boiotian *agōnes* themselves as plural, although surely Pindar would have given Diagoras a full and explicit roll-call of his victories? It is also not clear if victories at Pellana and the Boiotian games together with those at Aigina be counted as six, or just those at Aigina?

³⁴⁶ Such a misunderstanding may be behind Schachter's strange designation of Diagoras as Theban – see Schachter, 2016, 61 n.39.

our neighbour and patron of horse racing, as we requite
 his assistance to the chariots,
 and to invoke your sons, Amphitryon,
 along with the glen³⁴⁷ of Minyas,
 Demeter's famous sanctuary of Eleusis,
 and Euboia, when telling of circling racecourses³⁴⁸

This last passage is commented upon in the scholium, providing the list of games won by Herodotos of Thebes (*Schol. Pind. Scholia vetera*. Is.1 11c 18.):³⁴⁹

ἐν μὲν Θήβαις Ἰόλεια ἢ Ἡράκλεια, ἐν δὲ Ὀρχομενῷ Μινύεια, ἐν δὲ Εὐβοίᾳ Βασίλεια,
 ἐν δὲ Θεσσαλίᾳ Πρωτεσίλεια, καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ νῦν, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ περιχωρίους, οὓς διὰ
 μακρῶν παρήλθεν ὁ Πίνδαρος.

In Thebes the Iolaeia or Herakleia, and in Orchomenos the Minyeia, in Euboia the Basileia, in Thessaly the Protesileia, and now in the Isthmia, and others in other places, which Pindar spoke of at great length

If the scholiast is to be believed, during the first half of the fifth century BC the Thebans were competing in otherwise unknown games at Orchomenos.³⁵⁰ The disappearance of this *agōn* is as mysterious as its sole mention, but this is, of course, assuming that the information is correct, and that the scholiast has not simply invented a Minyeia based on the Pindar line. It is possible that the 'glen of Minyas' was a geographical feature of another site, perhaps Onchestos itself with its mythical Orchomenian links, although as no other record exists of either the glen of Minyas or the Minyeia, this must remain speculation.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ Μυχός of course has many meanings, but Pindar speaks of the μυχός of Parnassos in his *Pythian* 10 (l.8), so a geographical valley or Race's glen or something of the sort seems to be implied.

³⁴⁸ Trans. Race, 1997, 141.

³⁴⁹ See Race, 1997, 141 n.2.

³⁵⁰ There were later games for the Charites at Orchomenos – see below, 4.4.4. and 5.2.5 - but the evidence comes from much later, from the second and first centuries BC eg. *IG* VII 3195, 3196, 3197 – see Schachter, 1981, 142.

³⁵¹ This is supposing a connection between Minyas and Onchestos, but what this might be is unclear. Minyas' son Klymenos was killed at Onchestos during some games (*Apoll. Bibl.* 2.67), but I am unclear if Minyas could really have had any clear topology this far south east.

2.3.2 Athena Itonia at Koroneia

As I discussed in the previous chapter, the *lekane* at the British Museum (BM80 – Figures 14 and 15) suggests that games were in existence at Koroneia from at the least the sixth century BC. During the fifth century, Bacchylides writes of a festival at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (fr.15), and games are mentioned by Pindar in his *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles* (fr.94b 46-47), evidence that at the time of composition the festival at Itonia drew in participants from other Boiotian *poleis*, including Thebes.³⁵²

Pindar names the victories of the family of Aioladas at the Itoneion (and Onchestos) before that of Olympia, suggesting that in the context of the local Theban ritual of the Daphnephoria (but one which was to assume pan-Boiotian importance – see below) these victories on a Boiotian stage were of greater importance to those assembled.³⁵³ Larson has suggested that the acclaim of the family of Aioladas by their neighbours ‘from generations past’ (τὰ πάλαι l.42) suggests that the games themselves were of some age.³⁵⁴ Pindar nowhere mentions the Pamboiotia by name. There is in fact no mention of the Pamboiotia in literature until Polybius - who himself merely refers to it with the general term *panēgyris* (4.3.5) - and no mention in epigraphy until the third century BC.³⁵⁵ Yet given the later fame of the Pamboiotia outside Boiotia, Larson is keen to identify the *panēgyris* with Pindar’s ‘Boiotian games’ of Olympian 7.84-85.³⁵⁶ If this is so, then its nature must have changed; Diagoras’ victory as a Rhodian goes against the festival’s later Boiotian-only clientele. A possible solution would be to assume that after the victory of the Boiotians at Koroneia in 446BC, the festival at the Itonion was rejuvenated or remodelled to reflect the importance of the victory for the Boiotians, at which point the games became Boiotian-only, and the name Pamboiotia adopted. Such a scenario may explain the epigraphic no-show of the Pamboiotia or *panēgyris* before this time.³⁵⁷

³⁵² Ganter suggests Alkaios and Bacchylides as evidence of the ‘trans-regional importance’ of the festival and shrine - Ganter, 2013, 99.

³⁵³ Larson, 2007, 133.

³⁵⁴ Larson, 2007, 133; Ure has made the same observation - Ure, 1929, 168 n.22. This may be so, although Pindar may equally be referring to Onchestos, which he mentions first.

³⁵⁵ Epigraphy: *SEG* 26.551 from Koroneia, a dedication by a winning military team is dated 250-240BC. Equally a dedication of victors in Thisbe *SEG* 3.354 is again third-century BC.

³⁵⁶ Larson, 2007, 143-144.

³⁵⁷ One might suggest the Itoneia as a possible early name. The Boiotian month *Pamboiōtios* after all occupies more or less the same position as the Thessalian Itonios, a month unknown in Boiotia – on Itonios in Jun/Jul or Aug/Sep see Graninger, 2011, 95.

But whether the games at Koroneia truly boasted a pan-Boiotian meaning or organization before the aftermath of Koroneia remains unclear.³⁵⁸ As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Mackil has argued that Alkaios' mention of Athena as ruler of Koroneia (and not Boiotia - at least in the fragment we possess) speaks of only local interest ca.600BC.³⁵⁹ Schachter has suggested that the early games may have been organized by one of the 'many Boiotian confederacies' pre-dating the main Theban push for Boiotian unity.³⁶⁰ Perhaps once again we are looking at one of these religious associations whose existence underpinned the later *koinon*, such as the amphiktyony proposed for Onchestos. If so, a pan-Boiotian dimension would have been central. What is clear is that at this early stage the games at the Itonion conform to the general hippic-bias of the early Boiotian games, although they are yet to show any signs of the later militaristic team events with which the games are most usually associated.³⁶¹

2.3.3 The Iolaeia and Herakleia at Thebes

As a Theban himself, and a patron to aristocratic Thebans, it is unsurprising that Pindar makes reference to the games of this *polis* more regularly than to any other *agōn* inside Boiotia.³⁶² Yet clearly at this time the Theban games were of more widespread renown than any other Boiotian *agōn*; only with the victory of Diagoras of Rhodes – victor also at Thebes – in the unidentified 'Boiotian games' do we hear of a non-Boiotian competitor at a Boiotian *agōn* other than at Thebes. What name to give these early Theban games is unclear. Damotimos of Troizen's mid-sixth-century BC funeral stele speaks only of victory in the footrace 'at Thebes'.³⁶³ Bacchylides, in his tenth victory ode for an unknown Athenian runner, tells us only that 'famous Thebes welcomed him' (Il.30-31.) Pindar is equally silent on nomenclature. Most

³⁵⁸ The praise of the family of Aioladas at least assumes it had pan-Boiotian importance.

³⁵⁹ Mackil, 2013, 159 n.48; Strabo 9.2.29; Alkaios fr.325 (Campbell) = fr.147 (Page).

³⁶⁰ Schachter, 1981, 123. He however doubts an ancient Pamboiotia, preferring a Hellenistic creation, suggesting that even if it had been old, it could not have continued intact and uninterrupted through Boiotia's turbulent Classical history - Schachter, 1981, 124.

³⁶¹ See Table 2 in appendix for a visualization of the changing emphasis of the Boiotian games. Schachter, 1981, 123 interprets Bacchylides (fr.15) τι δεῖξαι < μέλος > - 'to display a delicate [song/dance]' as hinting at a musical element to the games (as does Ganter, 2013, 99). This would be the sole example of any non-hippic/athletic event during the fifth century BC, unless we wish to follow Schachter further in his supposition that a passage from Sophocles (*OT* 1105-1109) contains a possible allusion to dramatic agones at Thespiai, perhaps an early Mouseia - Schachter 1981, 156 n.4. Neither is convincing; Bacchylides especially seems to be referring simply to some kind of ritual performance rather than a musical competition – see Mackil, 2013, 159-160.

³⁶² See for example *Isthm.* 1 55-56; 3/4.50-84 (62-66); *Nem.* 4. 19-22; *Olymp.* 9.98-99.

³⁶³ *IG* IV 801.

later sources and all agonistic inscriptions call it the Herakleia, but the Iolaeia is another alternative and some scholiasts refer to it by both names, some to the Iolaeia or Herakleia only.³⁶⁴

The contest and festival was associated with the Sanctuary of Herakles which lay to the south of the city beside the Elektran Gate, and beside the Sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios. Pindar's *Isthmian* 4 for Melissos of Thebes, winner of the pankration – and dated to 470BC - is our earliest mention of a *temenos* of Herakles and provides an insight into the nature of the rites surrounding the *agōn* (l.60-71):³⁶⁵

τῷ μὲν Ἀλεκτράν ὑπερθεν
δαῖτα πορσύνοντες ἀστοί
καὶ νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν αὖξομεν
ἔμπυρα χαλκοαῤῥαν ὀκτὼ θανόντων,
τοὺς Μεγάρα τέκε οἱ Κρεοντίς υἱούς·
τοῖσιν ἐν δυθμαῖσιν ἀγῶν
φλὸξ ἀνατελλομένα συνεχὲς παννυχίζει,
αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζοισα καπνῷ,
καὶ δεύτερον ἄμαρ ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων
γίνεται, ἰσχύος ἔργον.
ἔνθα λευκωθείς κάρα
μύρτοις ὄδ' ἀνήρ διπλόαν
νίκαν ἀνεφάντο παίδων <τε> τρίταν
πρόσθεν,[...]

In [Herakles] honour, above the Elektran Gates
we citizens prepare a feast
and a newly built circle of altars and multiply
burnt offerings for the eight bronze-clad men who died,
the sons that Megara, Kreon's daughter, bore to him.
For them at sunset the flame rises

³⁶⁴ Schol. Pindar, *Ol.* 7.153e – Herakleia also called the Iolaeia; Didymos fr.47=schol. Pindar *Nem.*4.32 – Herakleia only; Schol. Pindar *Ol.*9.148e; 148i – Iolaeia alone. *IG VII* 2532 from the mid-fourth century BC is the first agonistic inscription to mention the name of the games – see below.

³⁶⁵ Aravantinos, 2014, 151.

and burns all night long,
 kicking heaven with its savour of smoke.
 And on the second day is the conclusion
 of the annual games, the labour of strength.
 There did this man, his head made white
 with myrtle, bring to light a double
 victory, and a third previously among boys³⁶⁶

So we learn that these games were annual and included a contest called the ‘labour of strength’ - ἰσχύος ἔργον – which given Melissos’ speciality may have been the pankration.³⁶⁷ Later games were associated with the gymnasium and stadium of Iolaos which Pausanias located near the Proitian gate to the north east of the Kadmeia (9.23.1), although when the games moved from their original position near the Herakleion is not known.³⁶⁸ Pausanias speaks of a hero shrine beside the gymnasium of Iolaos, and it is possible that this was the tomb which he shared with Amphytryon, although Schachter places the tomb instead in the vicinity of the Herakleion.³⁶⁹ This may be because of the evidence from a number of odes that the victors were crowned before the tomb, although this does not discount a crowning ceremony elsewhere; or that different events were at times shared between the different venues.³⁷⁰

Diagoras of Rhodes’ victories at both Thebes and at the ‘duly-ordered games of the Boiotians’ (*Olymp.*7.65), may be evidence that the ‘Boiotian Games’ cannot be the Herakleia/Iolaia; no other Theban games are after all known from this period. The only other possibility is that the *te* of the final line is not a notice of separation; that instead the ‘duly ordered games of the Boiotians’ is in fact a description of the games in Thebes.³⁷¹ Given

³⁶⁶ Adapted from Race, 1997, 169-171.

³⁶⁷ Is there a possible link to the later ephebic contest, the *peri alkēs* – that concerning strength? See Chapter Seven and Newby, 2005, 195-199.

³⁶⁸ Aravantinos, 2014, 205; Schachter, 1986, 27. Didymos says the Herakleia was held at the gymnasium of Iolaos (fr.47=schol. *Nem.*4.32. We hear of the link between Iolaos and the *agon* in *Pythian* 9 for Telesikrates of Kyrene - winner of the race in armour (79-82); *Nemean* 4 for Timarsarchos of Aigina, winner of the boys’ wrestling (19-22); *Olympian* 9 for Epharmostos of Opous, winner of wrestling, (98-99); victories at Thebes are also recorded in in *Olympian* 13 for the runner Xenophon of Corinth (106-107); and Pindar may also allude to them in *Isthmian* 1 for the charioteer Herodotos of Thebes (1.55) where the sons of Amphytryon may refer, as a scholiast informs us, to Herakles and Iolaos (Schol. *Isthm.* 1.79a).

³⁶⁹ Schachter, 1986, 26.

³⁷⁰ Willcock, 1995, 97 notes the scholiast’s (Schol. *Nem.* 4.32) recording of events at the Herakleia being staged at the Iolaion.

³⁷¹ No scholar ancient or modern appears to have suggested this. As a qualification of Thebes, we would anyway expect the dative rather than nominative.

Janko's suggestion that the games were inaugurated to celebrate the 'Boiotian' victory at Keressos, a pan-Boiotian meaning for these Theban games – Thebes being after all the birth-place of the hero Herakles – ought not be dismissed out of hand.³⁷² I have already noted the possibility that one understanding of the Boiotian shield on the Boiotian common coinage was as the shield of Herakles in the previous chapter. Equally, a bronze plaque recovered at the Herakleion (Thebes museum inv.no. 41063) which Aravantinos has suggested as a dedication of the *koinon* with its mention of Boiotarchs could then be seen as a nod to the pan-Boiotian nature of the shrine and its associated festival.³⁷³

In summary, while the exact identification of Pindar's 'duly-ordered Boiotian Games' remains unknown, the evidence provided by Pindar for the Boiotian *agōnes* in the first half of the fifth century BC reveals a network of aristocratic interaction at these sites, and that victories on this Boiotian stage were a matter of honour amongst their contemporary Boiotians.³⁷⁴ What is more, the organization of the *agōnes* at Onchestos and the Itonia suggest the co-operation of associations during the sixth century BC or earlier, such associations playing their own role in the development of a unified Boiotian identity, and in projecting that identity into the wider Greek world.

2.4 Pan-Boiotian Festivals and the Boiotian Migration Tradition

In the development of group identity, the two fundamental factors identified by Hall are the sharing of territory (real or mythical) and a myth of common descent.³⁷⁵ By the middle of the fifth century BC, the story which the *Boiōtoi* were telling of their origins was of a unified migration from Thessaly some two generations after the Trojan War. The first account of this migration is arguably found in Herodotus, where several separate passages - the movement of the Thessalians from Epirus into Thessaly (7.176.4), and the displacement of the Gephyraioi

³⁷² Inauguration after Keressos - Janko, 1984, 48 and n.62; Mackil, 2013, 24.

³⁷³ On this inscription as issued by the Boiotian *koinon* see Aravantinos, 2014, 199-202. See above at 2.2.

³⁷⁴ One scholiast almost certainly anachronistically names the Trophonia at Lebadeia as a possible candidate for Pindar's 'duly-ordered Boiotian games' - see Dow, 1935, 88; Schol. Pindar, *Ol.* 7.153a; on anachronism see Knoepfler, 2008b, 1435. The Trophonia is not attested until the second century BC.

³⁷⁵ Hall, 1997, 25-26. On the importance of the subjective as opposed to objective truth of these factors see Weber, 1968, 389.

to Athens by the arriving Boiotians (5.57.2, 61.2) – already suggest knowledge of the scheme of migration which we find clearly displayed by Thucydides (1.12.3):³⁷⁶

Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν ἣν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν

For the modern Boiotians were expelled from Arne, compelled to migrate by the Thessalians in the sixtieth year after the Trojan War to Boiotia, formerly known as Kadmeis, and of these there was previously a division in this land, from where they fought at Troy

Thucydides’ *apodasmos* - ‘division’ – has been interpreted as the historian’s attempt to square the belief in a post-war migration with the Homeric tradition in which the *Boiōtoi* were already present in Boiotia at the time of the Trojan War.³⁷⁷ That different solutions were given to this same problem suggests that no unified tradition existed, and that a number of groups within Boiotia held separate beliefs in their own origins, some of post-war arrival, others of pre-war habitation. Thucydides’ account is evidence for a belief in a unified Thessalian origin for the Boiotians already by mid-fifth century BC. Such a myth of a common origin would have been integral in tightening the bonds between the scattered and often warring communities within Boiotia, and seems to have been accomplished, at least in part, through the close association of the migration tradition with a number of the important Boiotian religious cults. One example I have already given is that of Athena Itonia, as attested by Strabo (9.2.29):³⁷⁸

ἡ μὲν οὖν Κορώνεια ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἑλικῶνός ἐστιν ἐφ’ ὕψους ἰδρυμένη, κατελάβοντο δ’ αὐτὴν ἐπανιόντες ἐκ τῆς Θετταλικῆς Ἄρνης οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά, ὅτε περ καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἔσχον· κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ

Now Koroneia is situated on a height near Helikon. The Boiotians took possession of it on their return from the Thessalian Arne after the Trojan War, at which time they

³⁷⁶ Schachter explains the expulsion of the Gephyraioi as a result of Theban expansionism into S and E Boiotia, as suggested by Ephoros *FGrH*70F21 – see Schachter, 2016, 165. Whatever the reality, Herodotus’ narrative seems to suggest an idea of arriving Boiotians.

³⁷⁷ See Sakellariou, 1990, 182; Buck, 1979, 76.

³⁷⁸ Plut. *Cimon* 1.1. Plutarch placed the taking of Chaironeia one generation after the Trojan War, and Thebes one generation after that, the former led by Opheltas son of one of the Boiotian leaders at Troy, Peneleos.

also occupied Orchomenos. And when they got the mastery of Koroneia, they built in the plain before the city the temple of the Itonian Athena, bearing the same name as the Thessalian temple.³⁷⁹

It is probable that the later Pamboiotia celebrated this Boiotian migration, and it is tempting to imagine the agonistic victories of the family of Aioladas ‘by the glorious temple of Itonia’ of Pindar’s *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles* (fr.94b) as being part of a festival whose meaning was linked to the myth of arrival. Another ritual, attested from the accounts of Proclus and Ephorus, to which a Pindaric fragment (fr.59) may allude, spoke of a ritual carriage of a tripod stolen by night from a Boiotian sanctuary and dedicated at Dodona in payment for an ancient sacrilege.³⁸⁰ The *aition* as revealed in the later sources link the ritual to Boiotian arrival, while the link with Dodona itself speaks of a nod to the Boiotians geographical origins.³⁸¹ Equally, the rite of the Daphnephoria, for which Pindar’s hymn was composed, was itself - at least in later times - connected to the migration tradition. This ritual – at its most simple the carrying in procession of sacred laurel to the temple of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes - is known from a number of widespread sources, and at least three of Pindar’s *Partheneia* (fr. 94a-c) - known from a papyrus published in 1904 - are believed to have accompanied it.³⁸² Fr.94b is the most detailed, although Pindar’s account is arguably complemented by two later sources, that of Pausanias (second century AD), who links the ritual with the yearly investiture of a boy of noble family as the priest of Apollo Ismenios, and that of Proclus, who in his *Chrestomathia* (fifth century AD) gives a detailed description of the accompanying procession.³⁸³ Given such a wide time difference (with a millennium between Pindar and Proclus) the inevitable variations between the texts may reflect inconsistencies in the accounts, differences of authorial focus, the changing of the rite over time, or the description of completely different rites altogether.³⁸⁴ Yet much of the scholarship concerning fr.94b has sought to elucidate the family relations within Pindar’s text and to link these with the roles later mentioned by Proclus and

³⁷⁹ See also Paus 9.34.1.

³⁸⁰ Proclus *Chrest.* in Photius (Cod. 239, pp. 321b32–322a Bekker).; Ephorus 70 *FGrH* 119 = Strabo 9.2.4.

³⁸¹ Kowalzig, 2007, 334.

³⁸² *POxy* 4.659 see Grenfell and Hunt, 1904, 50–60. Fr.94a on the same papyrus speaks of the same family of Aioladas as fr.94b but is not a maiden chorus as it is spoken by a man – is this the *daphnephoros* himself?

³⁸³ Paus.9.10.4; Proclus *Chrest.* in Photius (Cod. 239, pp. 321a-b Bekker).

³⁸⁴ Schachter has argued that the classification of 94b as a *Daphnephorikon* should not go unquestioned Schachter, 1981, 85. We know however that Proclus believed Pindar to have written hymns for the Daphnephoria, and Suda s.v. *Πίνδαρος* also tells us that Pindar composed *Daphnephorika*.

Pausanias.³⁸⁵ More importantly for our current migratory theme, Proclus' *aition* for the rite associates it with the defeat of the Pelasgians at Thebes by the arriving Boiotians under their General Polematas (Photius *Bibl. Codex* 239 Bekker 321b):³⁸⁶

ὅσοι κατῴκουν Ἄρνην καὶ τὰ ταύτη χωρία κατὰ χρησμὸν ἀναστάντες ἐκεῖθεν καὶ προκαθεζόμενοι Θήβας ἐπόρθουν προκατεχομένας ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν. Κοινῆς ἀμφοῖν ἑορτῆς Ἀπόλλωνος ἐνστάσης ἀνοχὰς ἔθεντο καὶ δάφνας τέμνοντες οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος, οἱ δὲ ἐγγὺς τοῦ Μέλανος ποταμοῦ ἐκόμιζον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Πολεμάτας δέ, ὁ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἀφηγούμενος, ἔδοξεν ὄναρ νεανίαν τινὰ πανοπλίαν αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δαφνηφοροῦντας διὰ ἐννεαετηρίδος προστάττειν.

Those of the Aioliens living in Arne, having set off and left the land there because of an oracle, encamped and ravaged Thebes which was already occupied by the Pelasgians. But when on both sides a common festival of Apollo was begun, they arranged a truce, and cut laurel – one group from on Helikon, the other from near the river Melas – and brought it to Apollo. And Polematas, the leader of the Boiotians, dreamed that a young man gave him a suit of armour and commanded him to pray to Apollo and set up an enneartie Daphnephoria.

No mention, however, of the migration tradition exists in fr.94b (or in any extant work of Pindar's), although Kurke has argued for its inclusion in the fragment's missing first lacuna, whose surrounds suggest a missing military narrative.³⁸⁷ Yet the overall feel of the song is Boiotian, with the family of Aioladas praised for their victories at Itonia and Onchestos, and their good relations with their (presumably Boiotian) neighbours lauded, and it is tempting to assume that the Daphnephoria *did* possess a pan-Boiotian meaning in Pindar's time. It has been argued that the ritual – specifically the details of the procession found in Proclus, such as the carriage of an ornamented log called the *kopō* – provides evidence for a Theban appropriation of rites from wider-Boiotia in an attempt to create something of a pan-Boiotian unifying ritual. Kurke has suggested the Daphnephoria as a festival crafted to suture the city of Thebes to the Boiotian countryside, with the log-bearing elements taken from the Parasopia and particularly

³⁸⁵ Kurke, 2007, 65 n.3 gives a full summary of previous scholarship. See especially Wilamowitz, 1922, 435, 553; Lehnus, 1984, 83-5; Calame, 1997, 60-2. Although of great interest, this scholarship lies outside the focus of this present study.

³⁸⁶ The presence of Pelasgians suggests Ephorus' Thebocentric version as a basis.

³⁸⁷ Kurke, 2007, 87-88. In n.46 she even suggests that this may be the source of Proclus' *aition*.

Plataia. Equally, Kowalzig sees the Thebans acquiring the Apolline Daphnephoria itself – along with its migration-themed *aition* - from west Boiotia, most specifically from the Apollo cults around Lake Kopais.³⁸⁸ Neither is wholly convincing, in part because no evidence for their imagined appropriated rites exist in the regions they describe before the Pindaric hymn; in part because tying these rites to their specific geographical locations is itself problematic.³⁸⁹ In addition, an eighth century BC *pithos* found in the Pyri suburb of Thebes in 1966, dating from 720-700BC has been tentatively linked to the Daphnephoria.³⁹⁰ If such identification is valid, this would speak against a sixth or fifth-century BC Theban acquisition of the laurel-carrying rite for hegemonic ends.

A more interesting line of enquiry is to my mind to be found in a detail of Proclus' *aition* which relates how the Boiotians and Pelasgians were *already* about to collect laurel for an unnamed rite when Polematas had his dream. Late as this detail is, it hints at the existence of an original laurel-collecting ritual onto which the *aition* of migration was then added. What no one has suggested is that Proclus' mention of the River Melas, where the laurel was to be collected by the Boiotians in the original rite, reflected actual cult practice, namely the gathering of laurel at the river and carriage in procession to Thebes as a central part of the Daphnephoria. A similar long-distance procession took place at the Delphic Septerion where laurel was carried from Tempe in Thessaly to Delphi, and to which the Daphnephoria has been compared - one scholiast, for example, describes the *Daphnephorikon* as a type of song which accompanied the bringing of laurel from Tempe to Delphi.³⁹¹

Δαφνηφορικόν ἐστὶ τὸ ἄδόμενον εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὸ τῶν κομιζόντων τὴν δάφνην
ἐκ τῶν Τεμπῶν

The *Daphnephorikon* is sung by those bringing the laurel from Tempe to Apollo

³⁸⁸ Kurke, 2007, 81; Kowalzig, 2007, 378-381. Kowalzig's arguments are too involved to allow an adequate critique here.

³⁸⁹ It is, for example, unclear whether Thebes truly stood outside the area of the supposed log processions, which Schachter has argued occupied a swathe from the Parasopia up into Euboea - Schachter, 1981, 243. Equally, only one Boiotian log procession is ever attested - the second-century AD Daidala (see Chapter Seven) – and Pindar never mentions a log or *kopō*.

³⁹⁰ Langdon, 2001, 592ff.

³⁹¹ On the Septerion see Plut. *De def. or.* 417e-418d; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 12 (293c). Boutsikas has recently classed the Septerion as a Daphnephoria - Boutsikas, 2015, 88. Septerion as source of *Daphnephorikon* - *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam, Scholia Londinensia (partim excerpta ex Heliodoro)*. 450.

According to Plutarch the River Melas, linked to the oracle of Apollo at Tegyra, was believed by the Boiotians to be the birthplace of Apollo.³⁹² The foundation *aition* of the Ismenion tells of the arrival of the god and his siring of the prophet Teneros on the Nymph Melia, and it is possible that the original Theban ritual recreated this arrival and *hieros gamos*.³⁹³ Mili has recently argued that the Septerion procession through Thessaly to Delphi may be connected to celebrations of the Daphnephoria at local Thessalian shrines, as if the latter joined up with the former.³⁹⁴ If true, this might allow the laurel-carrying ceremony to be imagined as a ritual tying an entire region together. It is tempting to imagine the Theban Daphnephoria as performing a similar unifying role within Boiotia; that the Theban rite was linked to those local celebrations of the Daphnephoria which Kowalzig sees evidence for at the sanctuaries of the Kopais Apollos.³⁹⁵ If an original procession from the River Melas is imagined, and we take seriously Proclus' hint that the *aition* of migration was overlaid onto this original rite, then it is at least of interest that the route which the Boiotians later claimed to have taken during their own arrival was exactly the route which Apollo had followed on his journey from the Melas to Thebes.³⁹⁶ At the very least, the Boiotian themes of Pindar's *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles* hint that in the fifth century BC the ritual may already have possessed some form of unifying pan-Boiotian meaning, playing its own contributory role to the development of a single Boiotian identity. Equally, its later *aition*, together with the *aitia* for the ritual of the Tripodephoria to Dodona and the foundation of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia where the *agōn* of the Pamboiotia was held, suggest that communal ritual played an

³⁹² *Life of Pelopidas* 16.3-4.

³⁹³ Pindar *Paian* 9, best known for its description of an eclipse, contains an aetiology for the worship of Apollo and Melia at the Ismenion (*Paian* 9.34-49). On elements of a *hieros gamos* noted in the Daphnephoria see for example Kurke, 2007, 97.

³⁹⁴ Mili, 2015, 243. The local inscriptions from Thessaly and Perrhaibia date from the mid-fifth century BC to the third century BC, with groups calling themselves *dauchnaphoroi* – the local dialect form of *daphnephoroi* – were setting up dedications in local neighbourhoods – see *IG IX 2* 1027; *ADelt* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 340 no.21. See Mili, 2015, 243 and n.151 and 152.

³⁹⁵ Kowalzig, 2007, 378. The evidence is slim. A Pindaric fragment (Pind. *fr.dub.*333) has been linked to a Daphnephoria at Orchomenos by D'Alessio, 2000, 253; Kowalzig suggests the mention of honey-sweet immortal water at Tilphousa (Pind. *fr.* 198b) comes from a Daphnephoric hymn there; at Chaironeia there is a fourth-century BC dedication (*IG VII* 3407) to Apollo Daphnaphoros (Δαφναφόρος); and an inscription at the Ptoion about the cutting of laurel – Ducat, 1971, 402-406 no. 252 – is linked by Kowalzig to a Daphnephoria, but in truth seems simply the injunction against the cutting of laurel at the site – see *SEG* 31.392.

³⁹⁶ Thebes' placement as the end-point of the Boiotian migration is evidence for Kowalzig of the propaganda potential of such rites and their associated hymns in confirming Theban hegemony, the major argument of her study – Kowalzig, 2007, 380 and *passim*.

important role in the commemoration and celebration of a unified Boiotian arrival, that attribute central to Hall's definition of a unified *ethnos*.³⁹⁷

2.5 Historical overview of Boiotian *Koinon* after Koroneia 446BC

The Oxyrhynchus Historian provides us with an invaluable description of the institutional structure of the federal Boiotian *koinon* ca.395BC.³⁹⁸ The Boiotian League had formed shortly after the Boiotian victory over the Athenians at Koroneia in 446BC, after a decade of Athenian control. Entry into the League was through the voluntary participation of *poleis* who understood the value of co-operation and who needed formal institutions to provide them with clear rules about how, in practical terms, that would occur.³⁹⁹ Boiotia's ruling oligarchs developed a system whereby the separate *poleis* were combined in artificially created districts based on population rather than geography (although these often overlapped) which the Oxyrhynchus Historian names *merē*, but which were known in Boiotia – at least in a later period – as *telē*. Each *telos* included one large or several smaller *poleis* determined by population and location.⁴⁰⁰ Voting by *telē* allowed for the proportional representation of League members in the central government, and avoided the dominance of any one city state.⁴⁰¹ The federal council, however, met on the Theban Kadmeia, which was also the seat of the federal treasury. As Boiotia's largest city and most prosperous city, Thebes' dominance in the affairs of the League was thereby assured despite the proportional representation.⁴⁰² Each *telos* elected one Boiotarch, sent councillors and judges to the league council and courts, met military levies, and paid taxes.⁴⁰³ The *telē* became the organizational basis both of the Boiotian military, and of a number of the important Boiotian games and festivals, such as the Pamboiotia and Basileia.

In 395BC the number of *telē* was eleven, but already by that time Thebes had gained control of four districts: two for the city itself and two for the satellite communities of the

³⁹⁷ Hall, 1997, 25.

³⁹⁸ *Hell. Oxy.* 16.2–4 (Bartoletti). The word *koinon* and League are somewhat interchangeable.

³⁹⁹ Mackil, 2013, 337.

⁴⁰⁰ Mackil, 2013, 371. See also Roesch, 1965, 46.

⁴⁰¹ On voluntary membership and the avoidance of Theban hegemony see Mackil, 2013, 38. It is assumed that at its inauguration, both Thebes and Orchomenos oversaw two districts each - Beck and Ganter, 2015, 142.

⁴⁰² Beck and Ganter, 2015, 145.

⁴⁰³ Mackil, 2013, 340.

Parasopia.⁴⁰⁴ At this time Orchomenos and Hyettos controlled two *telē* between them, as did Thespiiai, Eutresis, and Thisbe; Tanagra was a single *telos*; Haliartos, Lebadeia, and Koroneia made up another one; and Akraiphia, Kopai, and Chaironeia too made up a single district.⁴⁰⁵ This distribution resulted in the stark dominance of the Thebans who controlled four out of eleven districts (and arguably six, for as Beck and Ganter have argued, Thespiiai with its two districts was effectively under Theban control following the razing of the walls of Thespiiai by Thebes in 423BC) and thus enjoyed an absolute majority in the affairs of the *koinon*.⁴⁰⁶

During the Peloponnesian War the Boiotians – with the exception of Plataia – took the Spartan side, although by the end of the war this relationship had spoiled, and in 395BC the Thebans led the Boiotian League into a military alliance with Corinth, Argos, and Athens, to fight against their former allies.⁴⁰⁷ In 386BC the King’s Peace resulted in the disbanding of the League and in 382BC the Spartans occupied Thebes and other Boiotian *poleis* to prevent its return.⁴⁰⁸ Thebes was liberated in 379BC and the Boiotian League restored by the *polis* ca.378BC.⁴⁰⁹ Unlike the initial formation of the League, coercion played a major role in its reformation, and its institutions reveal a highly centralized structure with a bias towards Thebes, with the old council replaced by the *damos* – a primary assembly which met at Thebes.⁴¹⁰ Despite the democratic appearance of this new government, the Thebans clearly exercised greater political privileges than the citizens of other Boiotian *poleis*.⁴¹¹ The lack of a federal council, whose fourfold partition had previously guaranteed an equal say of all *poleis*, clearly favoured Theban interests, with the *damos* meeting in Thebes and thus guaranteeing Theban domination of affairs.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁴ In 431BC the Thebans had attacked Plataia, which was finally destroyed in 427BC - Thuc. 2.2-6; see also Prandi, 1988, 79-92. Destruction of Plataia - Thuc. 2.71-78; 3.20-24, 52-68. Following this, the Thebans doubled the size of their territory and population by undertaking the synoikism of at least six small communities: Erythrai, Skaphai, Skolos, Aulis, Schoinos, Potniai, and many others, the Oxyrhynchus Historian (17.3) tells us – see Mackil, 2013, 41. They were near Attic border and highly vulnerable. They had previously been in sympoliteia with Plataia, so it was ultimately the Theban destruction of that city that exposed them. The synoikism was not an act of Theban beneficence Mackil, 2014, 41 *Hell.Oxy.* 16.3, 17.3 (Bartoletti).

⁴⁰⁵ *Hell. Oxy.* 19.2-4 (Chambers); *Hell. Oxy.* 16.4 (Bartoletti); Mackil, 2013, 371. See also Roesch, 1965, 46.

⁴⁰⁶ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 145. Thucydides (4.133.1) claims that the Thebans had always wanted to reduce Thespiiai.

⁴⁰⁷ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 146. Thebes played host to the rebel Athenian democrats under Thrasybulus before their return in 404BC to defeat the Thirty Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.4.

⁴⁰⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.27; Diod. Sic. 15.20.2

⁴⁰⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.1-13. This is often called the Second Boiotian League.

⁴¹⁰ Mackil, 2013, 337-339.

⁴¹¹ Mackil, 2013, 339.

⁴¹² Rhodes, 2016, 61-62. Rhodes effectively counters any idea of the *damos* as a democracy.

The Theban victory over the Spartans at Leuktra in 371BC ushered in the so-called ‘Theban hegemony’, the brief period of dominance so lauded by Polybius, in which the Boiotian League was led to military dominance under the control of the Theban generals Pelopidas and Epaminondas.⁴¹³ In 364BC the Thebans destroyed Orchomenos and drove its inhabitants into exile, cementing Theban power in the northwest, while Thespiiai and Tanagra were forced into *syntely* with Thebes.⁴¹⁴ Seven Boiotarchs are now attested, in place of the original eleven.⁴¹⁵ How and why this change occurred is unknown, and some have speculated that the missing districts represent those held by Thespiiai and Orchomenos and lost following their annexation.⁴¹⁶ But seven Boiotarchs are attested at Leuktra some seven years *before* the destruction of Orchomenos, and epigraphic evidence suggests that the Boiotarchs at this time were exclusively Theban.⁴¹⁷ It seems probable that the organization by districts was temporarily abandoned at this time, as contributions to the Boiotian military and its treasury appear to have been made by individual *poleis*.⁴¹⁸

The final defeat of the Spartans at Mantinea in 362BC marked the high-point for the Thebans, but it also brought about the death of Epaminondas and created the power vacuum into which Philip II was to step.⁴¹⁹ In the Fourth Sacred War of 339BC the Thebans found themselves supporting the city of Amphissa alongside the Athenians against the Delphic Amphiktyony and Philip, and the resulting showdown at Chaironeia in 338BC ended Theban

⁴¹³ See for example Plut. *Life of Pelopidas* - his *Life of Epaminondas* is unfortunately missing. Xenophon’s *Hellenica* is curiously silent about Epaminondas – see Cawkwell, 1972, 254ff, and 1979, 35-37. Polybius on Thebes’ earlier excellence – 20.4.1.

⁴¹⁴ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 149. Diod. Sic. 15.79.3–6; Paus. 9.15.3; Buckler, 1980, 184. Thespiiai - Isocrates 14.9, and see Buck, 1994, 104. *Συντελεῖν* means to be counted among – but we might imagine to mean to belong to the same *telos*.

⁴¹⁵ For seven Boiotarchs see for example *IG* VII.2407, 2408 of 372BC. Seven Boiotarchs are recorded at the Battle of Leuktra in 371BC – see Diod. Sic. 15.52.1 and 53.3; Paus. 9.13.7. The number of Boiotarchs has been linked to the importance of the number in Theban ideology – see Knoepfler, 2000, 358-359 and Mackil, 2013, 373.

⁴¹⁶ See for example Roesch, 1965, 46. For destruction of Thespiiai see Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.42–45, 6.3.1, 5; Diod. Sic. 15.46.6, 51.3; Isocr. 6.27; Dem. 16.4, 25, 28. For Orchomenos see Diod. Sic. 15.79.3–6; cf. Dem. 20.109; Paus. 9.15.3.

⁴¹⁷ Mackil, 2013, 338 n.45 argues that the evidence for non-Theban Boiotarchs (*SEG* 25.553 and *SEG* 27.60) put forward by Buckler, 1979, 57 and followed by Beck, 1997, 102–4 date from post-338BC and tell us nothing about the earlier period.

⁴¹⁸ Mackil, 2013, 337; see also Müller, 2011, 263–66. Boiotarchs without accompanying ethnic adjectives (i.e. in *IG* VII 2407, 2408), suggest that they were all Thebans. Buck sees no evidence to link Boiotarchs with districts at this time – Buck, 1994, 109.

⁴¹⁹ The ‘high-point’ for Thebes might be usefully contrasted with the experience of other Boiotian communities at this time, such as Orchomenos, Plataia and Thespiiai, each of whom had suffered losses at the hands of the Thebans.

hegemony over Boiotia.⁴²⁰ In 335 BC the Thebans revolted and the city was destroyed by Alexander with the help of the Thespians, Orchomenians, and Plataians. Whether Alexander dissolved the Boiotian League is unknown, but continued use of the ethnic *Boiōtoi* in inscriptions from the period suggests some form of continuation.⁴²¹

2.6 Festivals and the Boiotian *Koinon* ca.446BC-323BC

During the late Classical period, especially the fourth century BC, the first evidence is found for innovations in the sphere of Boiotian agonistic competition (and therein, I will argue, Boiotian identity). This period provides our best evidence for the strong link between the political and historical successes of the *koinon* and their expression in religious cults and festivals, and reveals the Theban-dominated *koinon* as keen to promote Boiotian success to the wider Greek world through the medium of agonistic competition. At the same time, other games seem to have fallen into disuse: after the time of Pindar there is no further evidence of games at Onchestos (a mark against Onchestos as Pindar's Boiotian games), or at Orchomenos (if the Minyeia even existed) until the Charitesia and Homoloia of the first century BC. Equally, no games at the Itoneion are recorded until the third century BC. It is unclear, in the latter case at least, if we should assume a complete absence of games, given the site's importance to the *koinon* attested at least from the end of the fourth century BC, or if we should simply blame the capriciousness of the epigraphic record.⁴²²

The only *agōn* for which a continuation throughout the entire Classical period is assured - unsurprisingly given Thebes' dominant position - is the Theban Herakleia/Iolaeia. During the second half of the fourth century BC – possibly 338-335BC – we find inscriptional evidence for the games, in the honorific epigram for the athlete Timokles, son of Asopichos, from Thebes (*IG* VII 2532), and which was placed below a statue of the young man carved by one Polykleitos. Here we read (ll.5-6)

ὃς Βασίλεια Διὸς καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλέους τρισὶν ἄθλοις

⁴²⁰ See for example Plutarch *Dem.* 18.2. 5, 1-6.

⁴²¹ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 151. Mackil also suggests continuation – 2013, 340. The return of the Boiotian *koinon* following the destruction of Thebes, and how this was effected, is a subject worthy of following up: one would suspect an important role of common cults and festivals.

⁴²² Importance to the later *koinon*, see for example *IG* IX 2.1.170 – the treaty already mentioned between Aitolia, Phokis, and Boiotia ca.301BC.

ἵπποις νικήσας δώματ' ἐπηγλάϊσεν.

...who being victorious at the Basileia of Zeus and in the Herakleia three times in competition with horses, honoured his home ...

The epigram shares a base with another inscription, that for the athlete Koryeidias (*IG VII 2533*). The mention of Polykleitos as sculptor of a statue of Lysippos, who we know was a victor in the boy's pankration at Delphi (first competed for in 346BC), suggests to Schachter a date in the second half of the fourth century BC, possibly before 335BC, Schachter being of the belief that these men were members of the *hieros lochos*, the Theban Sacred Band.⁴²³ According to Plutarch, the *hieros lochos* was an elite military unit comprised of three hundred pairs of homosexual lovers, first put together by Gorgidas but most famously led by Pelopidas until his death in 364BC.⁴²⁴ They were defeated at the Battle of Chaironeia in 338BC, before which Plutarch informs us they had never been defeated.⁴²⁵

As the above inscription (*IG VII 2532*) attests, Timokles, son of Asopichos, from Thebes, was also victorious at the 'Basileia of Zeus'. According to Diodorus, the *agōn* of the Basileia at Lebadeia was inaugurated by Epaminondas following the victory of the Boiotians over the Spartans at Leuktra in 371BC, becoming a federal festival in the Hellenistic period.⁴²⁶ Diodorus relates that omens fabricated before Leuktra by Epaminondas himself included an injunction of Trophonius, the oracular hero/god of Lebadeia, for the Boiotians to set up a rite to Zeus Basileus.⁴²⁷ This new pan-Boiotian festival 'fully captured the spirit of victory and unity under the aegis of Thebes' and quickly grew in importance, highlighting and promoting Theban success and prowess; it is assumed that during the fourth century BC the Basileia was held under Theban sponsorship, probably because they held the hegemony.⁴²⁸

Given that the battlefield of Leuktra lay within the territory of Thespiiai, the location of the Basileia at Lebadeia is surprising. But the animosity between Thespiiai and Thebes, as well

⁴²³ Schachter, 1986, 28 n.1, 1994, 112 n.1. Iolaidas of Thebes was the winner of the first boy's pankration in the 61st Pythian Games (346BC) - Paus. 10.7.8.

⁴²⁴ Plut., *Pel.* 18; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.19; Ath. 13 (561f), 13 (602a); Polyainos 2.5.1. Schachter places their creation pre-382BC - Schachter, 2016, 194-195. Aristotle recorded that the lovers exchanged their vows before the tomb of Iolaos - Plut. *Pel.* 18.5 Aristotle fr.97 (Rose). On the Theban Sacred Band and their possible existence at the Battle of Delion see Davidson, 2008, 469 and 512.

⁴²⁵ Plut. *Pel.* 18.7.

⁴²⁶ Diod. Sic. 15.53; see also *SEG* 45.434.

⁴²⁷ Diod. Sic. 15.53. Other sources do not name Zeus - Pausanias (4.32.5-6) merely mentions the shield of Aristomenes. On the cults of Zeus in Boiotia see Schachter, 1994, 93-155; 2016, 181.

⁴²⁸ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 149. Theban sponsorship of games - Schachter, 1994, 117.

as that of nearby Plataia, suggests to Schachter that Lebadeia became the clear choice for victory-games, being on the main route to Delphi, and well known to non-Boiotians as the site of the oracle of Trophonios.⁴²⁹ The choice of so visible a site highlights the importance to the organizers that the Boiotian victory was demonstrated to the widest possible Greek audience. That from this point onwards the epithet *Basileus* was associated by the non-Boiotian Greeks with the Boiotian Zeus (where inside Boiotia the epithet *Karaïos* – ‘of the peaks’ – was preferred) is proof that this effort towards a wider fame was successful.⁴³⁰ Here we see clearly the link between promoted identity and agonistic competition. Epigraphic evidence exists for the *Basileia* during the fourth century BC in the form of two inscriptions from Boiotia. The first, referring to the *Basileia Dios* is that of Timokles, son of Asopichos, from Thebes (*IG VII* 2532) already mentioned above; the second, engraved beneath a statue by Euboulides, names Kleainetos from Tanagra as victor in the *Basileia* in an unknown event (*IG VII* 552).⁴³¹ Given the shortage of epigraphic evidence, it is impossible to conclude whether the fourth-century BC *Basileia* was a purely Boiotian affair along the lines of the Pamboiotia, or whether the victories of a Tanagran and Theban represent merely an accident of survival. It is possible that the sending of Athenian Taxiarchs to the games in 281/280BC may reveal a widening participation already near the beginning of the third century BC.⁴³² Neither of the fourth-century inscriptions mention Lebadeia, but with no other *Basileia* known at this time the attribution is sound.⁴³³ Timokles’ victory ‘with horses’ suggests that the *Basileia* conformed to the traditional pattern of all of the Boiotian *agōnes* discussed thus far, being of primarily hippic nature.⁴³⁴ Athletic events are attested only for the Herakleia/Iolaeia during the fifth century BC, although it might be assumed that the lack of athletic evidence for the other *agōnes* reflects either the chance of discovery, or the epigraphic habit wherein only the more illustrious hippic victories tended to be recorded in dedications.

The only exception to this general hippic/athletic formula is found in the *agōn* at Oropos. Oropos was easy of access, particularly by sea, and the unfortunate position of the Oropia as a

⁴²⁹ Schachter, 1994, 112.

⁴³⁰ Schachter, 1994, 112. Evidence includes *IG IX* 1.98, a treaty between the Boiotians and Phokians after 196BC where an oath was sworn to Zeus *Basileus*. For Zeus as *Karaïos* in Boiotia – see for example *IG VII* 3208 and *SEG* 32.478.

⁴³¹ See Schachter, 1994, 112 n.1 on Euboulides.

⁴³² *SEG* 25.90 – Athens send taxiarchs to *Basileia* ca.281/280BC. I shall return to these taxiarchs when dealing with the third century BC evidence for the *Basileia* below.

⁴³³ *SEG* 23.332 from Delphi mid-fourth century BC may refer to it.

⁴³⁴ On the disappearance of evidence for hippic events in the third century BC see 3.4 below.

bone of contention between Athens and Boiotia may also have been a factor in attracting unusual attention from both sides.⁴³⁵ The popularity thus engendered led in turn to the establishment of *agōnes*, which themselves attracted further attention from abroad. The Athenians controlled Oropos from as early as 507BC.⁴³⁶ It was during the Athenian occupation that the sanctuary of Amphiaraus was created. Amphiaraus' role as a specialised god of healing is attested from 414BC, and first witnessed in Aristophanes' eponymous comedy, with the site at Oropos probably laid out on virgin soil sometime around 420BC.⁴³⁷ If games were set up during this time, no evidence remains. In fact the first evidence comes from the time of Theban domination, which began in 411BC, this being in the form of an apobatic relief (*SEG* 1.131) of ca.400BC.⁴³⁸ This may suggest that the *agōn* was inaugurated by the Thebans to celebrate their seizure of the Sanctuary.

In 387/386BC, under the terms of the King's Peace, the Theban-led Boiotians were forced to give up Oropos, whose *polis* they had moved seven stades inland in 401BC, and whose population had been annexed to the Boiotian League and made citizens of Thebes.⁴³⁹ After 386BC Oropos regained its independence until the Athenians took it over ca.374BC.⁴⁴⁰ It was ceded back to the Boiotians in 366BC, and they held it until 338BC, the year of their defeat at Chaironeia.⁴⁴¹ After this Oropos was independent until 335BC, whereupon it fell once again under Athenian control.⁴⁴² We know that the festival was reorganized under the Athenians, during this third period of their domination ca.335-322BC from an honorific decree of Athens for the Atthidographer Phanodemos, son of Diyllos, possibly dating to 332/331BC.⁴⁴³ Here we learn that the *agōn* was pentaeteric - held on a four-year cycle and

⁴³⁵ Schachter, 1984, 24.

⁴³⁶ Hubbard, 1992, 106 n.50; see Hdt. 5.77 for the campaign.

⁴³⁷ Bonnechere, 1990, 54. Several fragments exist of varying length and interpretation – see for example fr. 29 (Kassel-Austin) preserved in Aelian *N.A.* 12.9, explained as either an oracular statement or erotic incantation - see Faraone, 1992, 320-327.

⁴³⁸ Knoepfler calls the Apobasis, the event wherein a hoplite jumped on and off a moving chariot, 'typiquement attico-béotienne' - typically Attico-Boiotian - Knoepfler, 2008b, 1445. See *IG VII* 235 (*IOropos* 277) 387-377 BC (386-374BC Rhodes and Osborne, 2007, 128) for reference to ἡ ἑορτὴ - the festival.

⁴³⁹ See Hansen, 1996, 98; Diod. Sic. 14.17.1-3; Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 fr.12.

⁴⁴⁰ Rhodes and Osborne, 2007, 131; Isoc. Xiv. Plat.20; for date, Knoepfler, 1986, 90f.

⁴⁴¹ Diod. Sic. 15.76.1.

⁴⁴² To this period is assigned the award of proxeny by an assembly (*IG VII* 4251, 4250) to Amyntas son of Perdikkas of Macedon, an act seen as that of an independent Oropos - Rhodes and Osborne, 2007, 372-373.

⁴⁴³ *IG VII* 4253-4254 (*IOropos* 297).

hence celebrated ‘in the fifth year’ – as were the games of the *periodos*, the agonistic circuit of the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games (*IG* VII 4253 [*IOropos* 297]):⁴⁴⁴

ἐπειδὴ Φανόδημος Θυμαιτάδης κα-
λῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως νενομοθέτηκεν πε-
ρὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου ὅπως ἂν ἦ τε
πεντετηρὶς ὥς κάλλιστη γίγνηται κα-
ὶ αἱ ἄλλαι θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν τ-
ῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου

Since Phanodemos of Thymaitadai rightly and generously legislated concerning the temple of Amphiaraos so that the pentaeteric games should become as fine as possible, and the other sacrifices to the gods in the temple of Amphiaraos...

Whether this represented a change in the periodicity of the festival is unknown, as is whether Phanodemos *instituted* ‘the procession for Amphiaraos and the gymnastic and equestrian games and the *apobasis* and all the other events surrounding the *panēgyris*’ (*IG* VII 4254 [*IOropos* 298] ll.15-19) as Rhodes and Osborne have argued, rather than simply upheld them.⁴⁴⁵ The existence of hippic events at the end of the fifth century BC should at least allow us to assume that Phanodemos had inherited something of the original Boiotian pattern; that the games before this Athenian re-organization were more akin to the typical Boiotian fourth-century BC agonistic style, namely hippic, with a possible gymnastic element as well. A victor’s list of the *Megala Amphiaraia* (*IG* VII 414 (*IOropos* 520)) has been variously dated as belonging to the period of Theban domination ca.366-338BC, and more recently to the Athenian domination, ca.329/328BC.⁴⁴⁶ The list of events is large and diverse and includes hippic, athletic, musical and poetic competitions, with the victors primarily Athenian (the Athenians are victors in twenty five of the forty events, clearly favouring the later dating) with only one Boiotian victor – Lysandros, a Theban, in the boy’s kitharist event (l.3). If this inscription dates from the later period, then Lysandros may have been a Theban exile, Thebes having been destroyed by Alexander in 335BC. Given the domination of hippic events in the

⁴⁴⁴ The term *periodos* refers to the circuit followed by the athletes.

⁴⁴⁵ *IOropos* 297. See also Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7; for institution see Rhodes and Osborne, 2007, 133.

⁴⁴⁶ Earlier date – with likelihood of ca.350-340BC – see Schachter, 1981, 24 n.4; for later date, see Knoepfler, 2001a, 367-389.

Boiotian games of the fourth century BC, it seems possible that the thymelic elements in the programme of the Amphiaraia were an Athenian development.⁴⁴⁷

2.7 Summary

The classical Period witnessed the creation of the federal Boiotian League, its apogee under Thebes and the military command of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 335BC. The structures and relations which underlay much of the later *koinon* were, in part, the result of interactions by the Boiotian aristocratic elites at the major Boiotian festivals and the religious associations there, a network whose importance Pindar bears witness to in his *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles* (fr.94b). Although Pindar's 'Boiotian Games' (*Olympian* 7.84-85) cannot be identified, evidence exists to show that each of the Boiotian *agōnes* mentioned by the poet were of pan-Boiotian significance and instrumental in the forging of a unified Boiotian identity. The Theban rite of the Daphnephoria may itself have played such a unifying role, being associated (at the very least in its later history, along with the Itoneion at Koroneia and the rite of the Tripodephoria to Dodona) with the migration tradition, a unifying myth which had developed by the mid-fifth century BC.

Pindar is our main source of evidence for the agonistic competitions during the first half of the fifth century BC, whose programmes follow the traditional Boiotian hippic/athletic pattern. The broader range of events at the late fourth-century BC Amphiaraia at Oropos seem to be the result of Athenian control. This speaks of a conservative militaristic identity being projected into the wider Greek world through the Boiotian *agōnes*. After the creation of the federal political *koinon* ca.446BC, a number of new festivals appear, each directly associated with a Boiotian victory – at least in *aition* – at a time of Theban domination. The inauguration of another Boiotian agonistic festival, the Delia, is linked by Diodorus to the victory of the Boiotians over the Athenians at Delion in 424BC, where Pagōndas – arguably the father of the Agasikles for whom Pindar composed his *Daphnephorikon* fr.94b – was credited with the use of a machine which spat fire (12.70).⁴⁴⁸ Diodorus' testament is only proof of a belief in the

⁴⁴⁷ Thymelic refers to those events associated with the *thymelos*, (the orchestra of the theatre), and so includes musical and choral events. In this thesis, I class events as hippic, athletic, thymelic, and dramatic.

⁴⁴⁸ On Pagondas' flame-thrower see Thuc. 4.100. It is possible that the fourth century witnessed the beginning of other Boiotian *agōnes*. Schachter suggests such a date for the Mouseia from Plutarch's clearly apocryphal story of the document taken to Memphis by Agesilaos of Sparta ordering a contest in honour of the Muses (*De*

aition of foundation; no epigraphic evidence exists until the second century BC, although Brelaz has argued for a possible early Theban incarnation for the Delia before 335BC.⁴⁴⁹ More secure is the evidence for the Amphiaraia, first attested following the Theban annexation of the shrine at Oropos in 411BC; and also the Basileia set up by Epaminondas following the Boiotian League's victory over Sparta at the Battle of Leuktra 371BC.⁴⁵⁰ These festivals not only commemorated Boiotian victories and unity, like that of the Pamboiotia at Koroneia, but played an important role in advertising Boiotian solidity and solidarity to a wider Greek audience. In placing these festivals at the sites of continuous dispute (such as Delion and Oropos) – the Boiotians visibly laid claim to them; while the presence at Oropos and Lebadeia of oracles which drew clientele from the wider Greek guaranteed a large non-Boiotian audience for these games.

Thus, throughout the Classical period the Boiotian festivals and *agōnes* played an integral role in the development of the single Boiotian culture, tradition, and identity, providing the network of associations underlying the federal *koinon*, providing a *locus* for the celebration and promotion of common traditions such as that of the migration from Thessaly, and promoting a militaristic Theban-dominated Boiotian identity into the wider Greek world.

Genio Socratis 7 (578E-5798)) - Schachter, 1986, 157. No epigraphic evidence occurs until the third century BC. The same is true for the Eleutheria at Plataia, whose inauguration Schachter also places in the late fourth century BC - Schachter, 1994, 131; Argoud, 2008, 529-530. I will deal with the third century BC evidence for the Mouseia and the Eleutheria in the next section.

⁴⁴⁹ Brelaz, 2007, 284-286. For Theban Delion, see for example Hdt. 6.118. For other source on Delion and the Delia see Didymos, in Schol. Pind. *Olympian* 7.154a; Paus. 9.20.1; 10.28.6; Livy 31.45.6-8; 35.51. The scholiast in Pindar mentions the Delia as one of Pindar's duly-ordered Boiotian games, but this is almost certainly anachronistic. Thucydides records Delion as being in Tanagran territory in 424BC - Thuc. 4.76.4.

⁴⁵⁰ Diod. Sic. 15.53; see also *SEG* 45.434.

Chapter Three: The Early Hellenistic Period (323BC – 200BC)

A New Boiotian Agonistic Identity

3.1 Introduction

The history of the Hellenistic Boiotian *koinon* is often seen as one of decline and fall, a verdict usually drawing on Polybius 20.4.1–3:⁴⁵¹

Ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἤδη χρόνων καχεκτοῦντες ἦσαν καὶ μεγάλην εἶχον διαφορὰν πρὸς τὴν γεγενημένην εὐεξίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῶν τῆς πολιτείας. οὗτοι γὰρ μεγάλην περιποιησάμενοι καὶ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς Λευκτρικοῖς καιροῖς, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς χρόνοις ἀφήρουν ἀμφοτέρων αἰεὶ τῶν προειρημένων, ἔχοντες στρατηγὸν Ἀβαιόκριτον. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν οὐ μόνον ἀφήρουν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰναντία τραπέντες καὶ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ δόξαν ἐφ' ὅσον οἱοί τ' ἦσαν ἡμαύρωσαν. Ἀχαιῶν γὰρ αὐτοὺς πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐκπολεμωσάντων, μετασχόντες τούτοις τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ ποιησάμενοι συμμαχίαν, μετὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπολέμουν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐκστρατεύσαντες πανδημεῖ, καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἠθροισμένων καὶ μελλόντων παραβοηθεῖν οὐκ ἐκδεξάμενοι τὴν τούτων παρουσίαν συνέβαλον ὅτοις Αἰτωλοῖς, ἡττηθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτως ἀνέπεσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥστ' ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς χρειᾶς ἀπλῶς οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν καλῶν ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδ' ἐκοινώνησαν οὔτε πράξεως οὔτ' ἀγῶνος οὐδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μετὰ κοινοῦ δόγματος, ἀλλ' ὀρμήσαντες πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ μέθας οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἐξελύθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς.

For many years Boiotia had been in a morbid condition very different from the former sound health and renown of that state. After the battle of Leuktra the Boiotians had attained great celebrity and power, but by some means or other during the period

⁴⁵¹ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 155.

which followed they proceeded to lose both gradually, <particularly> when Abaiokritos was their general. From that time their reputation was completely reversed and they wiped out even the memory of their former glory. For when the Achaians had succeeded in making them go to war with the Aitolians, they took the side of the former and made an alliance with them, after which they forthwith made war on the Aitolians. When the latter invaded Boiotia, they marched out in full force, and the Achaians having collected their forces and being about to come to their help, without waiting for their arrival they engaged the Aitolians. When defeated in the battle they so much lost their spirit, that they never after that affair ventured to pretend to any honorable distinction, nor did they ever take part with the Greeks in any action or in any struggle by public decree, but abandoning themselves to good cheer and strong drink, sapped the energy not only of their bodies but of their minds.⁴⁵²

The faithfulness of Polybius' portrait of Hellenistic Boiotia, however, has been recently questioned by Müller, who identifies in this picture of decline the wider literary trope of the rise and fall of states within Polybius' work.⁴⁵³ Boiotia's 'original sin' of Medism is, Müller suggests, repeated in its perceived relations with Macedonia, while the taunt of 'Boiotian swine' already ancient in the time of Pindar, is once again trotted out in the form of the Boiotians' gluttony and stupidity.⁴⁵⁴

Contrary to Polybius' negative picture, during the Hellenistic period Boiotia successfully pursued its affairs in a generally independent manner that preserved the integrity of its member-states *vis-à-vis* the great superpowers of the day.⁴⁵⁵ In the wars of the Successors, for example, Boiotia switched allegiances several times, exploring the advantages of allying with other confederacies, such as with the Aitolians in 301BC, as a way of preserving regional autonomy.⁴⁵⁶ And while Feyel dated the beginning of the Boiotian decline to the decade of the 220s – a verdict based squarely on a reading of Polybius – a close analysis of the festivals and agonistic games of the Hellenistic *koinon* reveals that (culturally at least) this decade in

⁴⁵² Adapted from Paton, 2012, 254-247.

⁴⁵³ Müller, 2013, 267-278.

⁴⁵⁴ Müller, 2013, 274. Herakleides Kritikós drew an equally unflattering picture of Boiotia in the third century BC, no doubt relying on the older prejudices against Boiotia that were already prevalent in the Classical era *BNJ* 369A F I.6–25. See also Liv.36.6.1–3 with the comments by Hennig, 1977, 119–122.

⁴⁵⁵ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 155; Buck, 1993, 100 and 106.

⁴⁵⁶ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 155.

particular, and the period more generally, were times of creative blossoming.⁴⁵⁷ In this new Hellenistic world, where the actions of the larger regional alliances in many ways shaped the military and political acts of their smaller units, it is easy to suppose that the Boiotians, finding their feathers trimmed, sought to express their Boiotian identity in a different way, swapping Hesiod's cruel and unflinching strife - *σχελίη Ἔρις* - which led men to war, for the good strife - *ἀγαθὴ Ἔρις* - which resulted in more healthy competition, of 'bard against bard', and no doubt athlete against athlete.⁴⁵⁸ In other words, the Boiotians now sought to express their identity more deliberately and forcefully through the medium of *agōnes*.

In the field of Boiotian games, we see a marked increase in number from the Classical period into the Hellenistic period and a steady growth thereafter, from four examples in the fifth century BC, six in the fourth, eight in the third increasing to eleven and twelve in the second and first centuries BC respectively.⁴⁵⁹ While it is no doubt important to understand this Boiotian expansion in the context of the more general agonistic flourishing which occurred throughout the Hellenistic Greek world – I will discuss this below - and of which it formed a prominent part, my aim is rather to understand the specific developments within Boiotia, the new creations, re-organizations, and changes of events which were specific to the region and reveal a unique Boiotian dynamic, a pattern which the idea of a shared gradual increase masks.⁴⁶⁰ Parker has, after all, singled out the Boiotian agonistic development as a unique example of what was a predominately east Greek phenomenon, attributing its existence more to factors related to its own history rather than being just another example of the more general trend.⁴⁶¹ As Knoepfler has written of the *Basileia* at Lebadēia: *On voit ainsi que l'histoire de ce concours [...] ne saurait être dissociée de l'histoire générale* – 'Thus we see that the history of this competition cannot be separated from the general history [of Boiotia].' Rigsby, too, has emphasized a unique internal dynamic within Boiotia, a more self-involved celebration of festivals that underscored national unity and marked the solidarity of the nation to a degree not easily paralleled in the rest of Greece.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ Feyel, 1942b, 13-14.

⁴⁵⁸ Hesiod, *Op.* 11-26.

⁴⁵⁹ See Table 1 and 2 in the appendix.

⁴⁶⁰ For this general agonistic upturn see Azerini, 2009, 223, and Parker, 2004, 9-23 esp. 19-20.

⁴⁶¹ Parker, 2004, 15.

⁴⁶² Rigsby, 1987, 240 and 729.

My aim in this chapter is to correct Polybius' image of a moribund Hellenistic Boiotian *koinon* incapable of honourable distinction, through a close examination of the burgeoning Boiotian festivals and agonistic competitions throughout the period. I will argue that it is precisely through the medium of agonistic competition, with the the creation of new games and re-organization of existing ones, that the Boiotian *koinon* both developed and fostered a continuing sense of unity and identity, while also increasing the standing of Boiotia on a widening Hellenistic stage. My purpose throughout is to reveal the important role of cult and competition as carriers of Boiotian identity during this politically turbulent period, thus serving to emphasize the integral role such expressions of identity would come to play following the coming of Rome, when Boiotia's political, military and financial powers were taken away.

3.2 The Boiotian *Koinon* 323-200BC: A Historical Overview

Following its destruction in 335BC, Thebes was partially rebuilt by Kassandros ca.315BC only to be besieged and captured in both 293BC and 291BC by Demetrius Poliorketes. Yet Demetrius' reaction to Theban resistance was magnanimous, and in 288/287BC he restored the Theban constitution.⁴⁶³ It was only now that the Thebans regained their status of political self-governance within the Boiotian confederacy.⁴⁶⁴

This was a very different League from the one which Thebes had dominated during the fourth century BC, a federation whose new organization – possibly dating to the time of Thebes' re-entry – seems to have been designed to prevent any *polis* from ever again assuming the dominance which Thebes had previously enjoyed.⁴⁶⁵ The principal deliberative body in this period, the *koinon synedrion*, now met at Onchestos instead of Thebes, and the system of *telē* or districts – numbered now at seven or exceptionally eight - was extended, simplifying the appointment of magistrates, the collection of taxes, and the provision of military levies to the *koinon*, while facilitating the representation of every community in ritual actions made in the name of all the Boiotians.⁴⁶⁶ The *telos* which included Orchomenos and Chaironeia, for

⁴⁶³ Plut. *Demetrius*, 40 and 46.

⁴⁶⁴ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 151; Knoepfler 2001c, 14–19.

⁴⁶⁵ Mackil, 2013, 224; Müller, 2011, 261–82.

⁴⁶⁶ Mackil, 2013, 221-222. For the *koinon synedrion* see Roesch, 1965, 135–41; *IThesp* 84.2–3, 67–68. The composition of the *telē* can be worked out from a number of tripod dedications made by the *Boiōtoi* at their most important shrines, where the *polis* ethnics of the *aphedriates* – a magistracy whose role is unknown – allows the patterns of the groupings to be shown, with some *poleis* always dedicating – Thebes, Tanagra, Thespiiai – but

example, is attested in a military convention between the cavalries of the respective cities ca.287-280BC (*SEG* 28.461), proof that these *poleis* co-operated to meet regional military levies.⁴⁶⁷

Since the death of Alexander, mainland Greece had become broadly fractured into two main camps, that of the Aitolian League and the Achaian League. The third century BC saw the Boiotians engaging in a complex dance of diplomacy which in general favoured an Achaian alliance over one with Aitolia, although the end result was decidedly unfavourable. In 245BC the Boiotian League was defeated by the Aitolians at Chaironeia following, as Polybius informs us in the passage with which I began this chapter, a misguided precipitous engagement by the Boiotian General Abaiokritos.⁴⁶⁸ As a result of this defeat the Boiotians were forced to join the Aitolian League and surrender much of their territory.⁴⁶⁹ A re-organization of the Boiotian League's economic and military affairs followed, including a new system of watch guard units and mobile light armed troops - new highly-trained elite regiments able to compensate for the loss of the previously employed, large-scale infantry militias.⁴⁷⁰ It is after these events, in the final third of the third century BC that something of a flowering occurred in the field of Boiotian games and festivals. Shortly after this period of flourishing, the Boiotians found themselves allied to Macedon and victorious against the Aitolians in the Social War (220-217BC), after which Macedonian power in Greece was temporarily assured. The resulting Treaty of Naupaktos (217BC) was a recognition of the urgency for the Greeks to finally stop fighting one another and turn their attention to the clouds gathering in the west, i.e. Rome, an enemy who by the end of the third century BC the Boiotian League found themselves opposed to through their alliance with Philip V of Macedon during the First Macedonian War (214-

others only in certain combinations. Mackil's groups are I – Thebes; II – Thespiiai; III – Tanagra; IV – Orchomenos and Chaironeia; V – Plataia and Oropos; VI – Lebadeia, Koroneia, and Thisbe; VII – Anthedon, Haliartos, Akraiphia, Hyettos, and Kopais; VIII – Opous and Chalkis - Mackil, 2013, 223. The dedications are - to Apollo Ptoios, *IG* VII 2723, 2724, 2724a, 2724b, 2724c, 2724d; to the Muses, *IG* VII 1795; to the Charites, *IG* VII.3207; and to Zeus Eleutherios, *IG* VII 1672, 1673, the range highlighting the continued use of wide ritual participation in the fostering of unity - Mackil, 2013, 223. Schachter suggests seven as the original number of *telē* during the Archaic period – Schachter, 2016, 64. On the composition of the Classical *telē*, see Chapter Two.

⁴⁶⁷ Federal laws mandated military training to be carried out by *poleis* – see for example *SEG* 32.496, a proxyen decree from Thespiiai for the Athenian Military instructor Sostratos, ca. 250BC.

⁴⁶⁸ Polybius 20.4.1–3.

⁴⁶⁹ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 155-156. Loss of Opuntian Lokris and possibly also Chalkis, Eretria, and Megara. Opous and Chalkis, when present, made up the eighth Boiotian *telos*.

⁴⁷⁰ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 156; see Feyel, 1942b, 187–262; Hennig, 1977, 146–148. A comprehensive collection of military lists can be found in *IThesp* 88-135; see also *SEG* 37.385. On the organization of the Boiotian military see Roesch, 1982, 307-354.

205BC).⁴⁷¹ In the coming years relations with Rome were to divide the Boiotian League in ways which the manoeuvrings of the previous few centuries had failed to do.⁴⁷²

3.3 Games and the Boiotian *Koinon* 323-200BC: The Boiotian agonistic explosion

The third century BC, and especially the last third of that century, provides our first evidence for a number of Boiotian agonistic festivals, including the Eleutheria at Plataia, the Pamboiotia at Koroneia, the Ptoia at Akraiphia, the Mouseia at Thespiiai, and a Theban and possibly Orchomenian Agrionia. Some games, like the Amphiaraia at Oropos, remain unchanged;⁴⁷³ evidence for one *agōn*, the Herakleia/Iolaeia at Thebes, temporarily disappears from the epigraphic record;⁴⁷⁴ and some, like the Basileia at Lebadeia, the Ptoia at Akraiphia, and the Mouseia at Thespai, undergo a re-organization during the decade of the 220s. A change in epigraphic habit may account for something of the suddenness of this explosion: for the increased prestige linked to the Greek *agōnes* from the Hellenistic period onwards doubtless resulted in an increased desire for involvement in these games to be recorded.⁴⁷⁵ It is during this period that the accounts (*apologias*) of *agōnothetai* – the festival president, responsible for the funding of the games – are first recorded, giving valuable insights into the funding and organization of the competitions, as well as often recording the victors. The increase in festival victor lists equally allows a glimpse into the range of events and geographical origins of the competitors, something naturally missing in the singular dedications of victors typical of the

⁴⁷¹ Polybius 5.104; see also Waterfield, 2014, 1.

⁴⁷² Beck and Ganter, 2015, 156.

⁴⁷³ Although Schachter, 1981, 25 suggests the addition of dramatic events during the 220s, citing as evidence a series of proxeny decrees for actors at Oropos: *SEG* 15.265 - proxeny decree of comic actor from Cyrene; *IG* VII 275 (*IOropos* 179) 221-204BC - Proxeny decree for the tragedian Kleonikos, son of Kleokrates, of Rhodes; *IG* VII 298 (*IOropos* 175) 221-204BC Proxeny decree for Phormion, son of Nymphaios, of Byzantion. The dedication of a chorus leader to the nymph Halia at Oropos may suggest an *agon*, but it is not clear what this might mean – see *SEG* 24.355 and Schachter, 1981, 229 and n.2.

⁴⁷⁴ There is just one *agōn* for which evidence disappears during the third century – the Herakleia at Thebes (unsurprising given the destruction of the *polis* in 335BC). Epigraphic evidence does not return until the second century BC, although Schachter has argued for a reappearance ca.230BC, in line with the re-organization of the other *agones* at this time, offering the literary work of Polemon περί των θήβησιν Ἡρακλείων - ‘Concerning the Herakleia at Thebes’ (*FHG* 3 p. 123F26) – as evidence of a re-organization of the religious and secular parts of the festival - Schachter, 1986, 28 n.2. Schachter refers to Feyel, 1942b, 251-261; Feyel refers back to Robert (1935a); Robert mentions nothing of the third century BC. For other literary mentions see Nilsson, 1906, 446-448. Schachter must be referring to Polemon the Hellenistic *periegete* ca.220 to 160BC.

⁴⁷⁵ For this general upturn see Azerini, 2009, 223, and Parker, 2004, 9-23 esp.19-20.

earlier periods. Perhaps more importantly, the *apologias* allow the agency of the aristocrats and their families to become clearly seen in a way not witnessed since Pindar's Odes.

As I discussed in my Introduction, the vagaries of epigraphic survival make absolute statements on the appearance and disappearance of games impossible, except in the rare occasions when the texts themselves provide this information. More frequently, they remark on changes to the organization of the festivals, such as those documented during the decade of the 220s when we witness a marked and unprecedented re-organization of many Boiotian *agōnes*.⁴⁷⁶ To imagine a single unifying cause for the agonistic upturn in the late third century BC is reductionist, and it will be necessary in what follows to posit several contributing factors, acknowledging that each individual festival was affected by different factors to different degrees. For example, those *agōnes* more closely linked to the political history of the *koinon* were no doubt affected differently to those artistic events whose introduction may conform more strongly with the wider Hellenistic pattern and be linked to the presence in Thebes of one of the Guilds of Artists of Dionysus.⁴⁷⁷

The Hellenistic period witnessed a great flourishing in the field of agonistic competitions across the Greek world and especially in the Greek East.⁴⁷⁸ The increased political stability of the period, allied to the developing idea of a common Hellenism, were integral to this process. Agonistic competition became recognised as an important part of this Hellenism, and a source of prestige, both for the individual competitor and for those wealthy members of the aristocratic elite whose role as *agōnothetai* now centred on the funding and organization of the games. This prestige also became attached to the festival cult itself, and to the associated *polis* (and by default, region). It is in such a light that we must view the creation of new games at this time, and the seeking for Panhellenic status for many of the *agōnes*. In simple terms, Panhellenic status meant recognition of a games as Crown Games (*stephanitēs*) - as opposed to a Prize Games (*thematikoi/chrematitai*) - this being linked to the bestowal of a crown as the prize for victory - as at the Olympic, Isthmian, Nemean and Pythian games - rather than a monetary

⁴⁷⁶ See especially the discussions on the Basileia and Mouseia below.

⁴⁷⁷ These Guilds - known more generally as 'Guilds of the Artists devoted to Dionysus' - Κοινὰ or Σύνοδοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν - had come into existence at the beginning of the Hellenistic period to provide poets, musicians, dancers, actors - in general those persons necessary for staging performances of drama and music in the framework of Greek festivals and contests - see Aneziri, 2009, 218-219.

⁴⁷⁸ For this general upturn see Azerini, 2009, 223, and Parker, 2004, 9-23 esp. 19-20.

prize.⁴⁷⁹ Stephanitic status also required the bestowal of equal honours and financial reward from the victorious athlete's home city as would be rendered for a win at one of four Panhellenic games of the Classical *periodos*.⁴⁸⁰ The normal procedure for attaining stephanitic status included a request for the games to be recognised as equal to those of the *periodos* (termed *isolympian*, *isopythian* etc.) with the sending of envoys throughout the Greek world, and recognition of the sanctuary and games as *asylos*— inviolable - although not all of these steps were required.⁴⁸¹ Later on, this crown status was also associated with the designation of a games as 'Sacred' (*hieros*).

Yet it must be borne in mind that the granting of *asylia* or even 'sacred' status did not in itself denote Panhellenic status. The first declaration of *asylia*, for example, of the Hellenistic period was for the Boiotian sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia, in the 260sBC.⁴⁸² Such *asylia* was usually claimed for the duration of a festival, and we must assume that this example was linked to the celebration of the agonistic Pamboiotia known from later in the century. Yet as games which only the Boiotians themselves could enter, this granting of *asylia* cannot have entailed any action on the behalf of non-Boiotian *poleis*, at least as regards the honours to be granted Pamboiotian victors in their home towns, for there were no non-Boiotian competitors. Yet clearly the Boiotians were claiming a special honour for their own national sanctuary and games, and recognition of this honour by the wider Greek world.⁴⁸³ For this *asylia* – along with the other Boiotian examples later in the century – was granted by the Delphic-Amphiktyony, an institution which the Boiotians doubtless believed represented the entire Greek people.⁴⁸⁴ The impulse behind this act of extraordinary self-assertion remains, as yet, unknown.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁹ But as Remijsen has recently shown, the exact nature of the prize was of less importance than the status, and some crown-games were known also to give financial prizes - Remijsen, 2011, 102-103 – for example the bronze shield awarded at the stephanitic Heraia at Argos.

⁴⁸⁰ Parker, 2004, 11. Parker points out that the term Panhellenic was not itself used by the Greeks to denote crown games. As such, when I use it in this thesis, it is as a synonym for stephanitic games.

⁴⁸¹ Parker notes that some cities proclaimed stephanitic status without claiming *asylia*, and *asylia* was possible for sanctuaries even without games – Parker, 2004, 10-11. What exactly was needed to be Panhellenic seems to be disputed – Schachter for example sees the Mouseia as *stephanitēs*, and isopythian in the late third century BC, yet refuses to accept them as Panhellenic until an inscription in 172/167BC (*IG II 4.1061*) identifies the games as *asylon* – Schachter, 1986, 166 and n.3. See also Rigsby, 1996, 17.

⁴⁸² *FD III 4.358*; *SEG 18.240*.

⁴⁸³ Rigsby emphasizes the Hellenistic claims for *asylia* as related not to legal claims or the threat of war, but simply to the granting of honour – Rigsby, 1996, 22. See also Rigsby, 1996, 19 and 27.

⁴⁸⁴ Rigsby, 1996, 19.

⁴⁸⁵ Gartland suggested, during the examination of this thesis, the impetus behind this action may lie in the determination to 'recreate' Boiotia following the disasters at the end of the fourth century and the effective loss of a unified federal Boiotia during the Theban hegemony throughout much of that century.

Robert proposed a breaking of the monopoly of the four Panhellenic games during the third century BC, and the seeking of an equal status for an increasing number of smaller games at this time.⁴⁸⁶ In contrast, Parker has argued that this was in fact a slower and more complex process which could even have begun as early as the fifth century BC.⁴⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the seeking by Ptolemy Philadelphus of *isolympian* and *isopythian* status for his own Ptolemaia at Alexandria, set up in honour of his dead father in 279/278BC or 262BC, has been seen as something of a watershed.⁴⁸⁸ Around the same time, the reformation of the Delphic Soteria by the Aitolians followed a similar pattern, itself becoming a model for other re-organizations.⁴⁸⁹ It was presumably these changes which initiated the huge expansion in the number of Panhellenic games during the third century BC.⁴⁹⁰ From 300-250BC Parker lists just two Panhellenic games, the Ptolemaia and the Eleutheria at Plataia; but from 250-220BC we see a further fourteen instances, four of which were Boiotian.⁴⁹¹ To this list I would add a further probable two - the Theban Agrionia and Herakleia, the former at the very least gaining *asylia* at this time.⁴⁹² This is a substantial Boiotian component, compared to just three non-Boiotian mainland examples, the majority coming from Asia Minor or the Greek islands off its coast.⁴⁹³ Yet what this pattern of expansion overlooks is the highly individual nature of each of these changes; there was no singular formal route to obtaining Panhellenic status, and nor should it be assumed that such a status was the intended end point of all these changes. As I will discuss below, the developments in each of the Boiotian *agōnes* were driven by their individual needs and circumstances and not by a single purpose, and if they were an incremental movement towards 'Panhellenic' status, this need not necessarily mean that such a status was their original goal or motivation.

Something which sets the Boiotian *agōnes* apart from those of the rest of mainland Greece during the Hellenistic period was their frequent claim for *asylia* for their sanctuaries,

⁴⁸⁶ Robert, *OMS*, VI, 709-710.

⁴⁸⁷ Parker, 2004, 13-15.

⁴⁸⁸ Parker, 2004, 11 and 15. The later date is suggested by an Amphiktyonic decree granting the same status dated 262BC (*FD* III 4.357).

⁴⁸⁹ The Soteria had been introduced to celebrate the victory over the Gauls at Delphi in 279/278BC, and was reformed as a pentaeteric stephanitic festival in 246/245BC by the Aitolians, as evidenced from a decree from Athens *IG* II² 680. Champion, 1995, 213.

⁴⁹⁰ Parker, 2004, 11.

⁴⁹¹ See 'Chronological Overview' – Parker, 2004, 18-22.

⁴⁹² They were both considered Panhellenic by ca.140/139BC – see *IG* II² 971, evidence of an Athenian *archetheoros* for the Theban Herakleia, Agrionia, and Thespian Mouseia – see Parker, 2004, 21-22.

⁴⁹³ Stephanitic games were declared in Kos, Rhodes, Pergamum, Didyma, and Magnesia; mainland games were the Soteria, the Athenian Panathenaia and Eleusinia, and the Antigoneia at Sikyon.

almost all examples dating from the 220s, and for which the presence in Thebes of a branch of the Guild of the Isthmian and Nemean Artists (*Technitai*) of Dionysus (who we know were also involved in the celebration of the Soteria at Delphi) was instrumental.⁴⁹⁴ The Guilds provided a ready-made assemblage of competitors from a wide-range of locales across the Hellenic world, this geographical spread itself adding to the prestige and splendour of each festival.⁴⁹⁵ The Isthmian and Nemean branch, created in the first half of the third century BC, had headquarters throughout the Greek world, including cities of the Peloponnese, Euboia, and northern and central Greece, the latter including that at Thebes.⁴⁹⁶ As ‘resident artists’ associated with the major games of the *periodos*, they benefitted from the associated inviolability, and it appears that they sought to extend the honour of this *asylia* to the *agōnes* which they became aligned to in Boiotia.⁴⁹⁷ On mainland Greece, these actions were confined to a purely Boiotian stage, but the effect was that the associated Boiotian *agōnes* claimed for themselves a distinction enjoyed only by the games of the *periodos*. We know from a number of inscriptions at Delphi dated between 262BC and 255BC of the career of one of these *Technitai*, Pythokles son of Aristarchos of Hermione, who also played the role of priest to the Guild.⁴⁹⁸ An epigram on a statue base in Pythokles’ hometown of Hermione records victories at a number of Boiotian games around the middle of the third century BC, including the Mouseia and the Theban *agōn* of Dionysos Kadmeios (Agrionia – see below), and thus reveals the wide importance of these Boiotian competitions already in mid-third century BC.⁴⁹⁹ It is to the details of the Hellenistic Boiotian *agōnes* that I will now turn.

⁴⁹⁴ Rigsby, 1996, 56. See for example *FD* III 1 477 below. On the Guild at Thebes as the Isthmian and Nemean group, see Schachter, 1986, 160. On these *Technitai*, see Aneziri, 2009, 217-236 and Le Guen, 2001. On their link to Thebes, see *IG* VII 2484-2486. There were two other major guilds – the Athenian guild (which was the first to be set up) and the Guild of Artists of Ionia and the Hellespont – whose role was to insure the participation of professional artists at games great and small – Schachter, 2006, 298. See also Austin, 2006, 143.

⁴⁹⁵ See for example Aneziri, 2009, 226.

⁴⁹⁶ Aneziri, 2009, 219-220.

⁴⁹⁷ In *IG* XI 4.1061 (l.16) from Delos ca.172-167 BC, the Guild of *Technitai* claim that the oracles of Apollo had persuaded the most pious of the Greeks to confer inviolability upon them because of their roles in various contests, including the Mouseia. Here again we see that what seems to be at stake is not safety *per se*, but honour.

⁴⁹⁸ Inscriptions of Pythokles include *FD* III 1.300, 477 (named as priest), 563; 4.356; *SGDI* II.2602; *Pyth.*³15; *CID* 4.31, 42, 45.

⁴⁹⁹ *IG* IV 682 ca. 265-255BC, ll.13-14. Date from Schachter, 2016, 369 – see also Nachtergaele, 1977, 429–30, no. 15 bis. Fossey, 2015, 112 wrongly dates this to the imperial period. The inscription mentions ‘crowns’ won at these contests, but these may be metaphorical as the Mouseia did not become a Crown Games until arguably ca.209BC, the Agrionia sometime before 170BC – Knoepfler, 1996, 161-162; for Agrionia, see Rigsby, 1996, 69. This is of course a *terminus ante quem*. Schachter suggests the Mouseia proper as a later invention – this was merely a victory at a musical festival for the Muses – Schachter, 2016, 370 – see below. On evidence of importance of Boiotian games, see Feyel, 1942b, 252.

3.3.1 The Panhellenic Eleutheria at Plataia

Plutarch – no doubt anachronistically – credited the foundation of the Eleutheria at Plataia to Aristides shortly after the Battle of Plataia in 479BC. Schachter places its inauguration to the late fourth century BC, but firm evidence of its existence does not appear until the third century BC.⁵⁰⁰

The earliest reference to the games is a fragment of Poseidippos (fr.31 K-A) which may be dated to ca.280s.⁵⁰¹ The first epigraphical evidence is an inscription ca.261-246BC set up at Plataia in honour of Glaukon, son of Eteokles, of Athens, stating that he and his descendants are to receive places of honour ὅταν οἱ ἀγῶνες οἱ γυμνικοὶ [σ]υντελῶνται ἐμ Πλαταίαις – ‘whenever athletic competitions are held at Plataia’ – for all time.⁵⁰² It is possible that a Tanagran statue from the same period dedicated by Phorystas who won as ‘herald at the *agōn* of Zeus’ - κήρυξ νικήσας καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός (*IG* VII.530) - may refer to the Eleutheria, although most associate it with the Basileia;⁵⁰³ while *IG* V 1.656 and 657 are dedications linked to victory at the Eleutheria by an unnamed Spartan wrestler.⁵⁰⁴

It is important to point out that these games were not strictly a Boiotian affair, but rather truly Panhellenic. Indeed, given that the Boiotians (save for the Thespians and Plataians) fought on the Persian side, it might be considered that these games were out of bounds for many Boiotians.⁵⁰⁵ The dedication of Glaukon names as *agōnothetēs* one Archelaos son of Athenaios; we do not know if he was Boiotian or Athenian (his patronymic suggests the latter), but the decree, proposed by a Boiotian, Euboulos son of Panormostas, is described as δόγμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων – a ‘decree of the Hellenes’. The wide range of events as opposed to the limited traditional Boiotian programme is almost certainly linked to this Hellenic interest, most clearly

⁵⁰⁰ Plut. *Arist.* 21.1-2. Schachter, 1994, 139.

⁵⁰¹ See Rigsby, 1996, 51. Although Roesch has dated a victory of one Ariston, a flute player, to ca.300BC – (Roesch, 1989, 213 n.830 - *SEG* 39.444), but c.f. Schachter, (1994, 136 and 140) where it is dated to the second century BC.

⁵⁰² *SEG* 40.412. See also Pierart and Etienne *BCH* 99 (1975) 51-75. *SEG* 32.415 at Olympia ca.246BC was set up at Glaukon's death.

⁵⁰³ Schachter, 1994, 139.

⁵⁰⁴ Inscriptions are in fact found all over the Greek world ranging in date from the late third century BC to the third century AD; see Schachter, 1994, 138 for comprehensive list.

⁵⁰⁵ And yet Boiotian victors are known in its history – e.g. the first-century BC winner from Thebes (?), one Ameinias son of Kallon (*IG* VII 1666); and in the first century AD, Neikogenes from Tanagra (*IG* VII 1856, 1857).

reflected in the existence – attested from ca.200-180BC - of a hoplite race in armour in which the victors won the title ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων – ‘best of the Greeks’.⁵⁰⁶ In the Panhellenic context of the contests, celebrating as they did the greatest of all Greek military victories, the link between warfare and athletics was being clearly made.⁵⁰⁷ Such an understanding of athletics as a vehicle for the expression of a militaristic spirit has some bearing on the appearance of the military themed Boiotian *agōnes* as attested below.

3.3.2 The Pamboiotia at Koroneia

Arguably the most important games of the Boiotian *koinon* were those of the Pamboiotia at Koroneia. As noted in the previous chapters, the first evidence of agonistic activity at the site comes from the mid-sixth century BC, with agonistic scenes displayed on numerous vases.⁵⁰⁸ These may be evidence of a *panēgyris* which included not only sacrifices, but also an *agōn* (athletic and hippic), and attendant revelry for the mass of participants.⁵⁰⁹ Pindar gives evidence for hippic competitions for Athena Itonia in the fifth century BC.⁵¹⁰

Whether the games at this early stage were truly ‘pan-Boiotian’ is not known. Certainly they became so, as the Itoneion itself became increasingly important to the *koinon* during the Hellenistic period and regarded as the religious heart of the confederacy, just as Onchestos became its new administrative centre.⁵¹¹ Both sites were after all ‘neutral’ inasmuch as they were associated strongly with none of the dominant *poleis*, and could thus play the role of ‘substitute centres’ or ‘compromise capitals.’⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁶ Earliest evidence – *SEG* 11.338 from Argos – see Schachter, 1994, 141 n.1. The hoplite race appeared first as an Olympic event in 520BC. Pleket has suggested its late admittance onto the Olympic calendar as a reluctance for the elites to include such a non-Aristocratic event – Pleket, 2014, 41.

⁵⁰⁷ Newby, 2005, 170. Other regional examples include the Athenian ephebic *naumachia*, which suggest the continuing importance of Athens’ military history well into the second and third centuries AD – see Newby, 2005, 187 and 190.

⁵⁰⁸ *BCH* 99 (1975) 430.8; 433.16; 434.24; 434.29; 434.35; 434.36.

⁵⁰⁹ Schachter, 1981, 122.

⁵¹⁰ Pindar fr. 94b line 43 (*POxy* 4.659) – victories with horses at the Itoneia, and *Olympian* 7.84-85.

⁵¹¹ Koroneia - Schachter 1981, 123–7; Onchestos had become the administrative centre of the *koinon* by mid-fourth century BC - Roesch, 1982, 266–282. See once again the treaty (*IG* IX² 1.170) between the Aitolians, Phokians, and Boiotians to be set up at the Itoneion, Onchestos, and Alalkomenai - Ganter, 2013, 98. Aside from the possible hint in Pindar, this is earliest written evidence of the sanctuary’s national role - Schachter, 1981, 123.

⁵¹² Beck and Ganter, 2005, 155. On substitute centres ‘Ersatzzentren’ see Freitag, 2007, 388. On the various Thessalian sanctuaries of Athena Itonia, see Graninger, 2011, 51-60.

In 266/265BC or 262/261BC, an Amphiktyonic decree declared that the sanctuary of the Itoneion be declared *asylos* (*SEG* 18.240):

[. . .5-6. . . Αἰτωλοῦ Πυθίοις ἔδο]-
[ξε τοῖς Ἀμφικτίοσιν τὸ ἱερὸν]
[τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς] Ἰτωνίας τὸ
[ἐν Κορωνεαίᾳ] λον εἶναι

... Aitolia ... Pythia ... it is decreed by the Amphictyons that the temple of Athena Itonia in Koroneia be *asylos*.

Although the reading of Koroneia is tentative, certain passages of Polybius which speak of the Aitolians breaking the sacred truce of the *panēgyris* of Athena Itonia at Koroneia ca.229-224BC seem to suggest that this is indeed the place mentioned in the inscription and not a Thessalian Itoneion; more importantly it may suggest that an *agōn* was being celebrated here by the second quarter of the third century BC.⁵¹³ If *SEG* 18.240 *does* refer to the Boiotian Itoneion, it suggests that the Pamboiotia as celebrated in the Hellenistic period was either inaugurated or re-organized at this time. Schachter favours inauguration over renewal, arguing that the celebration of the Basileia at Lebadeia for the victory at Leuktra, rather than at the more obvious Koroneia, points to the internal political situation being unfavourable to pan-Boiotian games at the Itoneion during the earlier period.⁵¹⁴ Yet given the evidence for agonistic competition going back into the Archaic, I would favour a re-conception of an interrupted event, rather than a creation *ex nihilo*.

What precise meaning the granting of *asylia* had at Koroneia is unknown. Aside from the temporary *asylia* granted to the games of the *periodos*, the only place declared immune from war in the Classical period was Plataia in 479BC, with similar stories fabricated for Elis, Delphi and Delos.⁵¹⁵ Rigsby views the decree at the Itoneion in the context of a temporary

⁵¹³ Pouilloux (*FD* III 4.358), reminds us that the sanctuary could have been that of the patron goddess of Achaia-Phthiotis – but Schachter is swayed by Polybius. 4.3.5, 4.25.2 and 9.34.1. On dating of Aitolian breaking of truce - Schachter, 1981, 123.

⁵¹⁴ Schachter, 1981, 123 n.1. Alternately one might argue that Lebadeia was chosen *precisely* because Koroneia was already celebrating one pan-Boiotian *agon*.

⁵¹⁵ Rigsby, 1996, 25.

alliance with Aitolia ca.260BC.⁵¹⁶ The imminent threat from Macedonia during the Chremonidean War against Antigonos II Gonatas might suggest fear of disruption of the celebration of the Pamboiotia as the initial cause, yet the granting in the next year of Panhellenic status to the Ptolemaia suggests that the context may simply have been one of bestowing honour. Schachter has suggested that the granting of *asylia* accompanied a re-imagining or even inauguration of the Pamboiotia.⁵¹⁷ Such an occasion might well have been one in which extra honour was sought. Whatever the exact reason, there was something impressive about this Boiotian swagger; in their claiming for their national sanctuary and shrine of their national goddess a sacred and inviolable status equalling that of Plataia (whose own elevation had been the result of the role it had played in the liberation of all the Greeks), and the games of the *periodos*. With the link of the Itonion with the migration tradition, and with Koroneia's role as the place of the defeat which ended Athenian control and oversaw the creation of the Boiotian *koinon*, it is possible that the Boiotians sought an almost unprecedented honour from the wider Greek world for what they considered their central sanctuary, gaining recognition for themselves into the bargain. It is here that Boiotian political and religious identity become almost inseparable.

The Pamboiotia festival would, it is logical to assume, have been celebrated during the month of *Pamboiōtios* (September/October). Starting from the mid-third century BC, we begin to find dedications from military units of different Boiotian towns celebrating victories at the Pamboiotia. Three examples are given here.⁵¹⁸ The first, *IG VII 3087* is a dedication from Lebadeia (mid-third century BC):

τοῖ ἱππότη Λεβαδειῶν ἀνέθιαν Τρεφώνιοι,
νικάσαντες ἱππασίη Παμβοιώτια ἱπαρχίοντος
Δεξίπῳ Σαυκρατείῳ, φιλαρχίωντων Μύτωνος
Θρασωνίῳ, Ἐπιτίμῳ Σαυκρατείῳ.

The horsemen of Lebadeia set this up for Trophonius, having been victorious in the horse race of the Pamboiotia when Dexippos son of Saukrates was Hipparch, and

⁵¹⁶ Rigsby, 1996, 57. Rigsby imagines the Boiotians benefitting from their on and off association with Aitolia, for every single one of the extant grants of *asylia* for Boiotia's shrines are decrees of the Aitolian-led Delphic Amphiktyony – see Rigsby, 1996, 19.

⁵¹⁷ Schachter, 1981, 123 n.1 – Schachter favours inauguration.

⁵¹⁸ See also *IG VII.2714*, *SEG 26.551*, *IThesp 201*.

Mytonos son of Thrasonios and Epitimo son of Saukrates were commanders of the cavalry

A second concerns the victorious *telos* of Koroneia (*SEG* 3.354), uncovered at Thisbe; and a third records another dedication by teams of victorious troops, also from Thisbe (*SEG* 3.355). The organizing principle of seven districts or *telē* was found both in the Pamboiotia, and in the structure of the Boiotian federal army.⁵¹⁹ The *telos* of Koroneia - Κορωνείων τὸ τέλος (*SEG* 3.354) – seems to have consisted of the *poleis* of Koroneia, Lebadeia, and Thisbe; another inscription from Koroneia (*SEG* 26.551) records the victory of a military team at the Pamboiotia, whose members include soldiers from Thisbe and Lebadeia. It is in this context of military units and *telē* that Knoepfler places a decree of Haliartos (*SEG* 32.456) to which I shall return below, concerning a sacrifice to Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaïos, and participation in the Ptoia in Akraiphia ca.235-230BC, which also refers to the *telē*:⁵²⁰

πεμπέμεν ἀπὸ πόλιος ἱππ[έα]ς [ἐν τὸν] ἀ[γῶ]ν[α]
τὸν ἀπὸ τελέων ἐν τῷ Πτωίῳ ἀ[γ]ῶνι·

to send cavalrymen from the city to the contests by teams at the contest of the Ptoia.

Rigsby has argued that it is possible that this decree refers to a one-off invitation reflecting a recent military success.⁵²¹ If such a background is imagined, the idea that these games were a preparation for the Pamboiotia of the teams of the *telos* would re-iterate the idea of the *telos* as the organizing principle of the Boiotian military at this time.⁵²² Once again we note the military bent of the Pamboiotia, rightly so given Athena Itonia's martial role for the Boiotians and the link of the sanctuary's *aition* with their victorious arrival and victory against the Athenians in 446BC.⁵²³ A complete roster of magistrates for two consecutive years found at Thespiai (*IThesp* 84) provides us with a list of military units much like those attested in the first Thisbean dedication mentioned above (*SEG* 3.354) naming in the same order the elite

⁵¹⁹ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 153. See also Schachter, 1981, 124; Knoepfler 2001b, 356–361; for the organization of military districts see also Roesch, 1982, 307–354.

⁵²⁰ Knoepfler, 2001b, 357, n.54. See 3.3.6 below for more details of the Ptoia.

⁵²¹ Rigsby, 1987, 738.

⁵²² Schachter has suggested that such competitions as the Pamboiotia were a means of testing the level of proficiency of the detachments of the federal army, and, by extension, a means of raising that level, a consequence of the re-organization of the federal army, ca. 250-245BC - Schachter, 1981, 124 and n.3. See also Feyel, 1942b, 197.

⁵²³ The Athenian Panathenaia equally boasted military competitions, again for a martial Athena in the form of Athena Polias – see Mikalson, 2010, 76. For *aition* of arrival see for example Strabo 9.2.29.

divisions - *agema* (1.20); the shield-carriers - *peltophorai* (1.21); the chosen band - *epilektoi* (1.24); the archers – *pharetritai* (1.25); and the slingers – *sphendonatai* (1.26). This parallel presents a picture of a unified system of military organization and training for the *poleis* of the Boiotian League at this time, reflected in both the make-up of the Boiotian League army and the military competition of the Pamboiotia. It is interesting therefore that no non-military victor lists survive from this time for the Pamboiotia, although it is probable, as Schachter suggests, that individual as well as team events would have taken place.⁵²⁴ We know, for example, of victor lists from the first century BC with a mixture of team and individual competitors (*IG VII* 2871 ca.75BC), so there is no reason to believe this was not typical of the early Pamboiotia as well.

The direct link between the team games of the Pamboiotia and the organization of the Boiotian military makes plain, in a way seen in no other *agōn*, the close association between warfare and agonistic competition in the Greek imagination. That the Itonion was, as far as we know, the first sanctuary of purely regional importance to achieve *asylia* represents something of a coup for the Boiotians, who thus achieved recognition from the wider Greek world of the importance of their own central sanctuary, and thereby their own importance.

3.3.3 The Basileia at Lebadeia

The Basileia at Lebadeia, established during the Theban hegemony and which celebrated the Boiotian victory over the Spartans at Leuktra in 371BC, was apparently organized by the Boiotian *Koinon* after 287BC.⁵²⁵ In 280/281BC, during the archonship of Ourias, Athens sent Taxiarchs to the Basileia at Lebadeia (*SEG* 25.90).⁵²⁶ The motive behind their visit is unclear, but Rigsby has suggested that Lebadeia had sent to Athens as part of a special celebration with a military basis (hence the six Taxiarchs), possibly expressing a shared exultation in the freedom from the Macedonian yoke.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁴ Schachter, 1981, 124. Victor lists however do appear from the first century BC – see next chapter.

⁵²⁵ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1461. At this early stage the games were not yet Panhellenic, the first concrete proof of such status not appearing until post-218BC - Moretti *I.agon.gr.*40. For date see Rigsby, 1987, 738 n.28.

⁵²⁶ A Taxiarch (ταξίαρχος) was the commander of a body of troops.

⁵²⁷ Rigsby, 1987, 738-739. As Rigsby points out, Athens also celebrated with supplementary games for Demeter and Kore in 284/283BC and a second agōnothetēs chosen in 282BC for the renewed Great Panathenaia, cancelled during the fighting of 286BC.

Evidence for the third-century games suggests a wider range of events than those of the fourth.⁵²⁸ The earliest third-century BC inscription (*IG* II² 3779), is a dedication set up on a statue base in the theatre of Dionysus in Athens for Nikokles son of Aristokles, recording his many victories in an unnamed event in the mid-third century BC.⁵²⁹ Later inscriptions give a glimpse of a wide clientele in a range of events, such as Kallistratos son of Philothalos from Sikyon, victor in wrestling ca. 240-220BC (*IG* IV 428);⁵³⁰ Damatrios son of Aristippos from Tegea in Arcadia, mens *dolichos* (*IG* V 2.142 late-third century BC); and the multi-talented Phorystas son of Triax of Tanagra, victorious herald in the *agōn* of Zeus (*IG* VII 530 third century BC) – presumably the Basileia or Eleutheria – who also won a victory for running at the Olympics.⁵³¹

No decrees exist for the Basileia during the 220s claiming or receiving special honours as *stephanitēs*, or being granted *asylia*.⁵³² Nevertheless, Knoepfler has argued that by this time the games were sacred, with Panhellenic status in the eyes of the Hellenic community, this change of status being linked to the beginning of construction of the temple of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia during the 220s.⁵³³ The timing of this construction is uncertain, and centres on the dating of a series of inscriptions from the Ptoion near Akraiphia (*IG* VII 4135-7), all believed to have been inscribed at the same time and possibly by the same hand.⁵³⁴ The second of these

⁵²⁸ The lack of fourth-century victor lists makes any definite statement impossible.

⁵²⁹ This Nikokles may be the Nikokles of Taras whose grave Pausanias remarked on in the Sacred Way (1.37.2). His victories include those at the Basileia in Macedonia, the Basileia in Alexandria, and in a Basileia of no named provenance, probably (though not undisputably) that at Lebadeia. *SEG* 39.444 is dated ca.300BC by Roesch, 1989, 213 n.830 may record victory of Ariston a flute player, but c.f. Schachter, 1994, 136 and 140 who dates this to the second century and a victory of a boys *dolichos*.

⁵³⁰ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1441. The date is based on the known chronology of the local sculptor Thoinias son of Teisikrates – see *BE*, 1990, 147 and *BE* 1992, 281, also M. Sève, *REG*, 104, 1991, p. 232-235.

⁵³¹ See Hall, 2013, 135. Other known victories in the Basileia include *IG* VII 2487 at Thebes late third/early second century BC (no name or event); *IG* VII 4247 at Thebes, three victories in pankration(?) ca.200BC by an unnamed athlete - Knoepfler, 2008b, 1443; *IG* IV 428 ca.221BC victory of Kallistratos son of Philothalos of Sikyon, wrestling; *IG* V 2.142 – Damatrios son of Aristippos, Tegea, men's *dolichos*; *IG* VII 530- Phorystas, son of Triax, herald; *SEG* 24.362 – Thespiiai – victory of unknown at Basileia.

⁵³² Although Schachter suggests that *asylia* may have been granted to allow the temple to be built, claiming a response of Trophonius (*IG* VII 4135 1.7-8) as evidence - Schachter, 2016, 384. For this response, see below. Diodorus' claim that the games were already 'crowned' at their inception in 371BC ought to be taken as an anachronistic retrojection of their later status. *Diod. Sic.* 15.23.4 – see Rigsby, 1996, 51 n.25.

⁵³³ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1440-1441.

⁵³⁴ Same hand - Roesch, 1982, 232. The first is an Amphiktyonic decree concerning the granting of *asylia* to the Ptoion; the second is an oracle of Trophonius relating both to the Ptoia and to the temple of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia; a third, *IG* VII 4137 is a record of a bequest of money to the Ptoia by a man from Larymna. I will return to these texts below when discussing the Ptoia.

inscriptions is an oracular response of Trophonius given to one Kalliklidas of Opuntian Lokris, almost certainly asking questions as an agent of the Boiotian *koinon* (IG VII 4136).⁵³⁵

Καλλικλίδας Λοκρὸς ἐς Ὀπόεντος καταβὰς ἐν Τρεφώ-
νιον ἀνάγγειλε Λεπάδειαν τοῖ Δι τοῖ Βασιλεῦ ἀνθέμεν
κῆ τοῖ Τρεφωνίοι, κῆ Ἀκρήφια τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι τοῖ Πτωΐ, κῆ μὲν
ἀδικῶμεν μειδένα οὕτως. οὕτως δὲ ἀγίρέμεν ἀμφοτέ-
ρως τὰ ἱερὰ χρεῖματα κυνῇ ἐφ' οὐγίῃ κατὰ πᾶσαν χώ-
ραν, κῆ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἱερὸν καταγγελλέμεν. ὅστις δὲ κα τῷ
Διὸς τῷ Βασιλεῖος ἐπιμελειθεῖι τῷ ναῷ, τὸν στέφανον
ῶσεται.

Kalliklidas of Opuntian Lokris, having gone down to Trophonius, proclaimed that Lebadeia is to be dedicated to Zeus Basileus and Trophonius, and Akraiphia to Apollo Ptoios, and no one is to wrong these (peoples). They are both to collect sacred funds, for the common good, in every land, and proclaim the holy contest. Whoever repairs the temple of Zeus Basileus will wear the crown⁵³⁶

The oracle relates that Lebadeia is to be consecrated to Zeus Basileus and Trephonios [*sic*], and that ‘none should do them wrong’ - ἀδικῶμεν μειδένα (l.4) – wording which suggests to Schachter a claim for *asylia*.⁵³⁷ The collection of funds in every land πᾶσαν χώραν (ll.5-6) presumably means within Boiotia, and points to a possible change to pan-Boiotian status for the Basileia and Ptoia, one or both of which are to be proclaimed ‘sacred’.⁵³⁸ As for the cryptic last line, Schachter links ἐπιμελειθεῖι τῷ ναῷ (l.7) - ‘whoever repairs the temple’- with a

⁵³⁵ Kalliklidas as agent of *koinon* - Schachter, 2016, 390; Roesch, 1982, 232-235. Opuntian Lokris belonged to the Boiotian federation before 245BC, again in the second half of the third century BC and once more after 190 BC. Etienne and Knoepfler believe that the use of the ethnic ‘Lokrian’ proves that they were not part of the League at the time of the consultation - Etienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 333; Rigsby argues it only means Lokris was not a member when the response was published - Rigsby, 1996, 61. See also Schachter, 2016, 381; Robert, 1977, 208. Rigsby states that the oracle may pre-date the Amphiktyonic decree, placing it ca.228BC - Rigsby, 1996, 62; Nafissi, 1995, 157-161 dates it 221/220 BC.

⁵³⁶ Adapted from Rigsby, 1996, 63.

⁵³⁷ Schachter, 2016, 384.

⁵³⁸ Rigsby, 1996, 64 argues that χώραν here refers to Boiotia and is a call for pan-Boiotian status. Schachter argues that the funds collected by the Lebadeians were for the construction of the temple of Zeus Basileus - Schachter, 2016, 386. Rigsby suggests both contests are to be ‘sacred’ only as a poetic effusion, not in the later equation of ‘sacred’ with Panhellenic - Rigsby, 1996, 64; c.f. Parker, 2004, 19; Knoepfler, 2008b, 1440-1441. For earliest technical use of *hieros* meaning sacred in this context – *IDelos* IV 1957 (ca. 150-130BC) see Rigsby, 1996, 64.

Thespian magistracy the ‘caretaker of the temple’ – *epimeletas naōn*, and suggests that the crown was a reward on his leaving office; Pitt, in contrast, suggests that the crown was rather an incentive for work on the temple to recommence.⁵³⁹ Despite the lack of clarity, the oracle reveals that changing status was being sought amongst the Boiotians for the Ptoia and possibly the Basileia, and that the temple of Zeus Basileus (Figure 20) was a central concern during the decade of the 220s.

The precise dating of these decrees is only problematic inasmuch as the complexities of Boiotian relations at this time make it difficult to understand if the changes of status and the building of the temple might be linked to wider political concerns, or to the upturn in the other Boiotian *agōnes* during this decade.⁵⁴⁰ We know that in 236BC the Boiotians capitulated to the Macedonians under Demetrius II Aetolicus, but following his death in 229BC the *koinon* returned to the Aitolian League, from which they again defected in 224BC. It is possible that this brief period of stability (being allied to Aitolia), allowed the Boiotians the opportunity to re-organize their festivals, although opportunity must not be confused with motive.⁵⁴¹ In contrast, Nafissi has posited close links between the agonistic upturn and the political events following 224BC.⁵⁴² Polybius records that sometime after the death of Demetrius II and the succession of Antigonos III Doson, possibly ca.228-226BC, a Boiotian hipparch named Neon – a man who had been prominent in the pro-Macedonian camp in 236BC – spared the life of the Macedonian regent, who had found himself beached at Larymna on the Boiotian coast.⁵⁴³ This act of mercy earned Neon, his son Bracchyles, and their descendents, much favour and financial reward from the Macedonians.⁵⁴⁴ It was no doubt with Neon’s backing that in 224BC the Boiotians joined the Hellenic League of Antigonos III, its aim being the destruction of the Spartans, who under Cleomenes III were attempting to establish hegemony over the

⁵³⁹ Schachter, 2016, 387. *IThesp* 84, (l.6) - ναῶν<ων> ἐπιμελή τας. Rigsby interprets as ‘to be the priest’ 1996, 65. Incentive – Pitt, 2014, 380.

⁵⁴⁰ *IG* VII 4135, the Amphiktyonic decree, mentions one Ptoiokles son of Potamodoros, known as member of the Amphiktyonic council during the archonship of the Delphian Kallias. It is the varied dating give to Kallias’ archonship that introduces uncertainty. Kallias was archon at a time when Aitolia had fourteen seats on the Amphiktyonic council and Boiotia two. Those who place this before 224BC include Rigsby (229/228 or 225/224BC) - Rigsby, 1996, 60; Schachter (230-225BC based on Robert, 1977, 208) - Schachter, 2016, 381 n.5; Étienne and Knoepfler (228-226BC) - Étienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 337-342. Post-224BC dates are given by those who see nothing problematic in the idea of Boiotian seats on the Amphiktyonic council on the eve of the Social War, and after the defection of Boiotia to Macedon ca.224BC, such as Daux (224BC or 221/220BC) - Daux, 1943, 44; Nafissi (post-222BC) – Nafissi, 1995, 157; and Lefevre, 1995, 197.

⁵⁴¹ Hammond and Walbank, 1988, 326; Beck and Ganter, 2015, 156.

⁵⁴² Nafissi, 1995, 149-169.

⁵⁴³ Polybius 20.5. Date see Scholten, 2000, 275.

⁵⁴⁴ Polybius 20.5.

Peloponnese.⁵⁴⁵ Nafissi associates these last political events with the construction of the new temple of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia, and the reorganisation of the festival of the Ptoia, the context being one of renewed hostility against Sparta, with its flattering echoes of the glorious victories of Epaminondas and Pelopidas over a century before.⁵⁴⁶

Nafissi has suggested that the construction of the temple started during the archonship of Andronikos, shortly before 220BC, i.e. in the aftermath of the victory over Sparta in the battle of Sellasia (222BC), Andronikos being named in a building contract for the temple.⁵⁴⁷ This construction, he suggests, was linked to Zeus Basileus' anti-Spartan connections, for the old sanctuary had kept relics of the Messenian hero Aristomenes, and celebration of the Basileia was itself initiated after Leuktra (371BC), according to some by Epaminondas himself.⁵⁴⁸ More recent and thorough analysis of the building contracts of the temple of Zeus Basileus by Pitt reveals a construction of longer duration, perhaps starting as early as the first half of the third century BC, but one which had frequently stalled, often quite suddenly (a scenario suggesting military reasons, not financial ones).⁵⁴⁹ As such, Trophonius' oracular injunction would best refer to a renewal of an already existant building programme. The temple was, in fact, never to be completed, but the college of *Naopoioi* - the magistracy which it is assumed were created to implement its construction – were to become virtually the only legally constituted pan-Boiotian organism to survive the dissolution of the *koinon* after the Roman invasion.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁵ The inclusion of the bequest of the man from Larymna with the Amphiktyonic decree and the response of Trophonius is at the very least worth noting if Antigonos III Doson did play some role, though the exact connection would be difficult to reconstruct.

⁵⁴⁶ Nafissi, 1995, 149-169. For construction of temple, see *IG VII* 3073-3076; *SEG* 44.413. For re-organization of Ptoia see *IG VII* 4135-4137 and below.

⁵⁴⁷ Nafissi, 1995, 155-156 and 163. Andronikos as *terminus ante quem* - Nafissi, 1995, 156. On the dating of Andronikos see Étienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 337-342. Nafissi has suggested that it was the clearly political character of the monument which resulted in the many interruptions to its building programme, as suggested by the contracts for the construction of the temple (*IG VII* 3073) which imply that the work was interrupted, probably during the Second Macedonian War (200-196BC) between Philip V of Macedon and Rome, continuing during the war against the Spartan Nabis in 195BC - Nafissi, 1995, 166-169.

⁵⁴⁸ According to Pausanias, Aristomenes had sought Trophonius' help in locating his lost shield, which he later dedicated at Lebadeia, the shield still being present when Pausanias visited, and also being carried to the battlefield of Leuktra by the Thebans on Trophonius' advice – Paus. 4.16.7; 9.39.14; 4.32.6.

⁵⁴⁹ Early third century – see Pitt, 2014, 381; also, Turner, 1994, 386. Pitt argues that the oracle ca.230-225BC if understood as a commencement of the building programme would not leave enough time for the work to have commenced sufficiently to the level demonstrated in the building contracts ca.220BC – see Pitt, 2014, 380.

⁵⁵⁰ Schachter, 1994, 114; see also Pitt, 2014, 376.

The federal or pan-Boiotian running of the games is suggested by the presence of an *agōnothetēs* for the games from a *polis* other than Lebadeia.⁵⁵¹ The inscription on a boundary stone at Lebadeia (*IG* VII 3091) from the end of the third century BC records the dedication of a room for the anointing of athletes (*elaiochresteion*) to Zeus Basileus by the third-century BC Boiotian politician Neon son of Askondas of Thebes (the man who had rescued the stranded Antigonos III Doson in 228BC at Larymna), the dedication having been made on leaving his position as *agōnothetēs* of the Basileia.⁵⁵² The dating of this incident, and the later connection of Neon to Lebadeia, makes it tempting to see the hand – or purse – of Antigonos III as at least indirectly involved in some of the temple rebuild.⁵⁵³ As the above dedication records, at least some of this Macedonian wealth made its way to the celebration of the Basileia and an associated building project, and thus through the person of Neon, the Basileia reveals itself as the hub of a complex network of relations between the elite, the *polis*, the *koinon*, and foreign powers. The more secure dating of the Ptoion decrees to before 225BC, along with the technical analysis of the building contracts by Pitt, suggests that the construction of the temple of Zeus Basileus had been a concern at Lebadeia long before the involvement of Antigonos III Doson, but that the Boiotians' involvement with the latter provided an added impetus (and arguably funds) to recommence this building project at the end of the 220s. As will be discussed below, the reason behind the upturn of other Boiotian *agōnes* at this time suggests varied causes beyond the implications of a single relationship.

3.3.4 The Theban *Trieteris* for Dionysus Kadmeios (Agrionia)

In line with a number of key Boiotian festivals, the *Trieteris* for Dionysus Kadmeios was plausibly established to commemorate an important historical event, namely the refounding of Thebes by Kassandros in 315BC.⁵⁵⁴ We know that from the third century BC the games were dedicated to Dionysos Kadmeios, that they were trieteric – i.e. with a two year periodicity and

⁵⁵¹ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1441. A fragmentary second-century BC victory catalogue from Chaironeia (*SEG* 3.368) gives no city ethnics for the Boiotian competitors – they are given only the federal ethnic Boiotios – standard practice for federal-run games and something which ceases after 171BC and the dissolution of the *koinon* – Knoepfler, 2008b, 1441-1442.

⁵⁵² Knoepfler, 2008b, 1442. Knoepfler sees the room as possibly laying inside the temple itself.

⁵⁵³ Polybios (20.5) records how the house of Neon continued to reap rich rewards for the action at Larymna. With Sparta as Antigonos' main objective at this time, the choice of the Basileia may have been an obvious one – perhaps he was hoping to butter up Trophonius and get him on side again as he had been at Leuktra.

⁵⁵⁴ See *IG* IV 682. The timing is suggested by the altar by the sons of Praxiteles – Schachter, 1981, 191.

thus held ‘in the third year’ - and that they were directed jointly by the city of Thebes and the Artists of Dionysus.⁵⁵⁵ The date of their inauguration ought to be placed sometime between 290BC and the middle of the third century.

The epigram of Pythokles from Hermione mentioned above (*IG* IV 682) tells us of the crown he won from Dionysus Kadmeios ca. 265-255BC, presumably as aulode, rhapsode, or chorus leader, given his other named disciplines, while his prominent position amongst the Guild of Artists of Dionysus suggests their participation in these games.⁵⁵⁶ Like many of the Boiotian *agōnes*, they seem to have been re-organised in the first half of the 220s, as may be evidenced from the five remaining fragments of an Amphiktyonic decree ca.228-225BC once part of a wall of the Theban Treasury at Delphi erected during the archonship of Nikarchos (*FD* III 1.351; *SEG* 31-539).⁵⁵⁷ This decree defined the privileges and responsibilities of the Artists of Dionysus at the *trieteris*, and also declares the temple inviolable - *asylos*.⁵⁵⁸ In addition, it gives an idea of the specialities of some of the *Technitai* involved in the games, naming auletes, choral dancers, and tragic and comic actors.⁵⁵⁹ Rigsby considers that the dating of the decree might best be considered in the context of the renewed closeness between Boiotia and Aitolia under the threat of Macedonia.⁵⁶⁰ Again, the request for *asylia* is to my mind best understood as a granting of honour. What form the re-organization mentioned in the Amphiktyonic decree took remains unclear: that the festival was to be ‘proclaimed to the cities’ (fr.B, l.23) and not to ‘kings, dynasts, nations, cities’ – the conventional Panhellenic formula - suggests to Rigsby that at it was at this time that the games became pan-Boiotian in scope, if

⁵⁵⁵ Dionysus Kadmeios - we know of a wooden statue of Dionysus, adorned in bronze, called Dionysus Kadmeios from Pausanias 9.12.4. *SEG* 19.379. A trieteric festival (i.e. held every two years) was typical of festivals of Dionysus - Rigsby, 1996, 69. Thebes and the *Technitai* – see *FD* III 1.351; *SEG* 19.379; 28.487; 31.539.

⁵⁵⁶ See for example *IG* XI 4 1061. Knoepfler suggests that the *Technitai* were involved in the organization of the *agon* – Knoepfler, 2004, 1251; see for example *IG* VII 2447 ca.100BC.

⁵⁵⁷ For full text see Rigsby, 1996, 70-73. The Theban treasury was paid for with the spoils of war taken at the battle of Leuktra - Pausanias 10.11.5. Diod. Sic. (17.10.5) suggests spoils from the Third Sacred War post- 346 BC – for discussion see Jacquemin, 1999, 60 n.174. Scott prefers the former, and argues that the placement of the Treasury in its particular location should be understood as a ‘very particular attempt to echo the past use of Delphic space for the specific articulation of Boiotian community identity, and as such, to strengthen Thebes’ claims that their hegemony was a return to past tradition’ – Scott, 2016, 104.

⁵⁵⁸ Half a century later the artists stated that the oracles of Apollo had granted them inviolability because of their role in the contests of Dionysus at Thebes, amongst others (*IG* XI 4 1061. l.16 – from Delos – see above); see also Rigsby, 1996, 68. Rigsby suggests the *asylia* may point to an extra-mural location for the sanctuary, *ibid.* 69. Line 16 must read Dionysus now not Herakleia – see Robert, 1935a, 193.

⁵⁵⁹ The lack of a mention of the name Agriona may, or may not, be significant. Robert claimed the new name came with a second-century BC upgrade to Panhellenic status – Robert, *OMS* VII, 778; Rigsby says both status and name may have been present at the time of the decree - Rigsby, 1996, 69.

⁵⁶⁰ Rigsby, 1996, 70.

not Panhellenic.⁵⁶¹ Whether the events of the games were renewed is unknown, but the rise in status may arguably be linked to the presence and input of the Dionysian *Technitai*. Here we witness the effect of what was in many ways an outside group on the agonistic identity of Boiotia, an effect to which I will return shortly.

It is worth mentioning in brief an unknown *agōn* at Orchomenos from the end of the fourth century BC and which Amandry and Spyropoulos have proposed was also named the Agrionia.⁵⁶² They suggest that the many tripods dedicated to Dionysus in the theatre complex – itself dating to the end of the century – belonged to the winners in the *agōn*.⁵⁶³ An incomplete dedication by an unknown *agōnothetēs* reveals the existence of games at the site at the beginning of the fourth century, and it is possible that the later *agōn* was a continuation or re-imagining of this earlier rite, accompanying the building of the theatre at the end of the fourth century BC.⁵⁶⁴ Whether it was related to the later *agōnes* of the Homoloia and Charitesia is not known.⁵⁶⁵ Certainly the Charites at Orchomenos were recognised as figures of pan-Boiotian importance at the end of the third century BC, for they were the recipients of one of the tripods whose naming of *aphedriates* helped scholars to designate the Boiotian *telē*.⁵⁶⁶ The best that can be stated is that during the third century BC a musical *agōn* of purely local interest existed in Orchomenos linked to Dionysus which *may* have developed at the end of the second century BC into the Charitesia and Homoloia.

⁵⁶¹ Rigsby, 1996, 69. C.f. Robert *OMS* VII 778 who suggests the lack of the use of the name Agrionia at this time reflects a failed attempt at gaining Panhellenic status. Parker states that the granting of *asylia* may point to stephanitic status even without Panhellenic scope – Parker, 2004, 12. Presumably Parker means a granting of isolympian etc. status within Boiotia.

⁵⁶² There seems to be no clear link between the festival and the Agrionia of Plutarch (*Q. Conv.* 8 (717A); *Q. Graecae* 38 (299E-300A)) which involved the ritual flight by women of a certain family, and their pursuit by the priest of Dionysos.

⁵⁶³ Amandry and Spyropoulos, 1974, 224; te Riele, 1976, 285-291. The dedicatory inscriptions on these monuments, all of which date from the third century BC, include the names of the two *choregoi*, the name of the recipient of the dedication, i.e. Dionysos, and very often the names of the singer and the flute player – see Papalexandrou, 2008, 260-261.

⁵⁶⁴ The dedication seems to be of an entry way – Schachter, 1981, 180. The new theatre was possibly part of the rebuilding of the city begun by Phillip II and completed by Alexander – Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10; Plut. *Alex.* 34.2.

⁵⁶⁵ There is no mention of Homoloios as an epithet of Dionysus at Orchomenos, but it may have been the case – Amandry and Spyropoulos, 1974, 228.

⁵⁶⁶ *IG* VII 3207. On *aphedriates*, see above, 3.2.

3.3.5 The Mouseia at Thespiiai

The Vale of the Muses, a beautiful and fertile valley which separates the northern and southern parts of the Helikon massif, sits about six kilometres west of Thespiiai, and two kilometres southwest of the probable site of Hesiod's Askra (Figure 18).⁵⁶⁷ The surviving architectural fragments at the Sanctuary of the Muses - two porticoes, a monumental altar, and a theatre built into the slope above the sanctuary (Figure 21) - date from the latter half of the third century BC, but no doubt buildings had stood here before - Pausanias speaks of statues from the fourth century BC, and Schachter has argued for an upturn of the cult from a purely local affair at the start of the fourth century BC when Thespiiai was under Spartan control.⁵⁶⁸ Pottery and terracotta figurines reveal the grove of the Muses as a cult site during the Archaic period, while the first votive we know of is Hesiod's tripod won at funeral games of Amphidamas of Euboia, dedicated at the spot where the Muses had first inspired him.⁵⁶⁹ Although a number of literary sources hint at the possibility that the Mouseia was already an *agōn* from as early as the fifth or fourth century BC, the first hard evidence comes from the middle of the third century BC, with the epigram for the multi-talented Pythokles of Hermione, priest of the Guild of Artists of Dionysus (*IG* IV 682).⁵⁷⁰ His victory at the Mouseia at Thespiiai suggests that the Isthmian and Nemean Dionysiac *Technitai* were involved in the festival at least from this period.⁵⁷¹

Following Pythokles, a number of fragmentary inscriptions (*IThesp* 152-158) give an outline of the re-organization of the Mouseia ca.230-208BC. Three of these carved onto the same stone (*IThesp* 152-154), record letters from foreign rulers. *IThesp* 152 is a letter of a Queen, a sister of a King - usually taken to be Arsinoe III, sister of Ptolemy IV – accepting the introduction of a pentaeteric dramatic competition and dated ca.210BC; *IThesp* 153, possibly a letter of acceptance from Ptolemy IV, informs us that three Thespians were sent as

⁵⁶⁷ Schachter, 1986, 150. The view from the theatre opens out across the valley to the possible site of Keressos, where the Boiotians first united to defeat the Thessalians. Such visibility may have played a role in the pan-Boiotian interest in the Mouseia.

⁵⁶⁸ Pausanias 9.30.1. A statue by Strongylion gives the *terminus ante quem* of the start of the fourth century BC, while an apocryphal link of Agesilaos with the cult found in Plutarch (*De Gen. Soc.* 5 (577E) and 7 (578E-579A)) may betray a link between the cult and Spartan rule - Schachter, 1986, 157. For description of site see 1954, 22-48.

⁵⁶⁹ Roux, 1954, 43. Hesiod, *Op.* 654-659; Schachter, 1986, 152.

⁵⁷⁰ Fifth century BC – Sophokles *OT* 1108 Schachter, 1986, 156 n.4; fourth century BC *De Genio Socratis* 7 (578E-579E) - see Schachter, 1986, 157.

⁵⁷¹ Link with *Technitai*, see Schachter, 2012, 31-61. On role of the *Technitai* in the Mouseia, see Knoepfler, 2004, 1273 and *IThesp* 156, 172.

ambassadors concerning the pentaeteric *agōn* of *auletai*, *tragoidoi*, and *komoidoi*. *IThesp* 154 is a letter from an unknown King ca.215-208BC.⁵⁷² A fourth (*IThesp* 155), a decree of Thespiiai, ca.225/220 or after 217BC, speaks of previous letters and a past request for recognition from certain monarchs of the Mouseia as *stephanitēs* with isopythian status, and may have been part of the same monument.⁵⁷³ Another inscription of the same date (*IThesp* 156) commemorates the first celebration of the stephanitic competition, and here we learn that the *agōnothetēs* Hierokles had been sent out to invite various Guilds and states to accept the change in status. The decrees of acceptance exist for the Isthmian and Nemean Guild of Artists (*IThesp* 156 = *IG* VII 1735a), that of the Athenian Guild (*IThesp* 157 = *IG* VII 1735b), and possibly that of the *polis* of Oropos (*IThesp* 158). A final inscription (*IThesp* 62) ca.210BC records the gift received from Ptolemy and Arsinoe with which lands were bought and rented out to provide funds for the games.⁵⁷⁴ The exact dates of these inscriptions and how they are related is unclear, as is evidenced in the differing interpretations given by scholars.⁵⁷⁵ Knoepfler has argued that the Mouseia was re-organised as a pentaeteric festival ca. 230-218BC, at which time it was also granted *asylia*; and that a *separate* annual thymelic competition was raised to the status of a pentaeteric ἀγὼν στεφανίτης ca. 210-208 BC, soliciting the help of Ptolemy IV, and probably of Antiochos III and Philip V.⁵⁷⁶ Schachter's more recent reconstruction, based on the updated texts and dating provided by Roesch in *IThesp*, suggests that a *trieteric* thymelic *agōn* was established under Ptolemy III (reg.246-222 BC) - who Schachter identifies as the unnamed King of *IThesp* 152 – and that sometime around 225-220BC or after 217BC, five of the disciplines were elevated to *stephanitēs*, and its date of celebration changed (*IThesp* 156).⁵⁷⁷ The Mouseia, Schachter concludes, became pentaeteric

⁵⁷² Roesch, 2007 (2009), 16-18.

⁵⁷³ As past request see Schachter, 2016, 346-347. The date reflects the unlikelihood of such undertakings during the Social War (220-217BC). *IThesp* 155 as same monument - Knoepfler, 1986, 162. He argues that the recipient monarchs were Ptolemy IV, his sister/wife Arsinoe, and arguably Antiochos III and Philip V.

⁵⁷⁴ Presumably the same money asked for in *IThesp* 152 and 153 - Schachter, 2016, 351; see also *SEG* 15.321.

⁵⁷⁵ See for example Feyel, 1942b, 258-261; Roesch, 2007 (2009), 16-21; Knoepfler, 1996, 141-167; Schachter, 2016, 344-371.

⁵⁷⁶ The events of ca.230-220BC being related in *IThesp* 155-157; those of 210-208BC in *IThesp* 152-154 - Knoepfler, 1996, 161-162 (see also *SEG* 46 536). Knoepfler's suggestion of two separate *agones* running concurrently is untidy. Instead, Schachter has proposed that the first victory lists for the Mouseia ca.209BC (*IThesp* 161 and 163) - the former of which records 'the victors in the Thymelic *agon*' (οἱ νικήσαντες [vac.] τὸν θυμηλικόν 1.8) - refer to one and the same competition, not Knoepfler's two; that the separate list for 'the victors in the thymelic *agon*' (*IThesp* 161) records those victorious in the five events which had been bestowed stephanitic status, and that (*IThesp* 163) records the victors of all the events at the same games, the victors of the five stephanitic events being identical on both inscriptions - Schachter, 2016, 348-349.

⁵⁷⁷ Schachter, 2016, 347-351. In connection with the possible involvement of Ptolemy III in the first establishment of the Mouseia, Schachter suggests that the courtier Σωσίβιος may have visited Boiotia during his

only later with the support of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III, when dramatic events were also added, the first celebration taking place ca.204BC.⁵⁷⁸

Whatever the exact chain of events, as I highlighted in my Introduction, the interaction of individuals such as the Thespian *agōnothetēs* Hierokles, and other bodies such as the *polis* of Thespiiai, the Boiotian *koinon*, the Guild of *Technitai* of Dionysus, and foreign monarchs, reveals once again the importance of *agōnes* as the hub of complex negotiations between these numerous levels, and the games as a source of prestige and honour for all involved. Each of these separate groups played an important role in the games' organization. We note that the Isthmian and Nemean *Technitai* were involved from the start and even sent a priest – an official representative – to take part in the celebration of the *agōn*.⁵⁷⁹ As with a number of other games, their involvement at the Mouseia did much to shape the nature of the event and to craft a new artistic Boiotian agonistic identity. The importance of the Mouseia to the Boiotian *koinon* is attested not just in its acknowledged involvement in the organization of the *agōn* (see *IThesp* 154, 156, and 157), but in the use of the ethnic *Boiōtios* for the Boiotian victors (see *IThesp* 161 and 163).⁵⁸⁰ Such a use of the ethnic is attested only in the Mouseia and the Basileia, pointing perhaps to a tacit acknowledgement of the role of the *koinon* in the organization of these particular games.⁵⁸¹ Equally, we know of the active involvement of the Boiotian *poleis* other than Thespiiai from a decree of Haliartos ca.225BC (*SEG* 32.456). Here we learn that the magistrates of Haliartos are to provide an ox for the sacrifice to Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios at Akraiphia and for the celebration of the Ptoia (for which see below), and that the treasurers are to give 150 drachmas 'as they do for the Mouseia' - τα καθάπερ κῆ ἐν τὰ Μωσεῖα (1.20).⁵⁸²

reign and that the proxyeny decrees *IG* VII 507 and 3166 may date to the reign of Ptolemy III - Schachter, 2016, 368-369; cf. *SEG* 60 1911 and 1984. Unlike Rigsby, 1987, 736-737, Schachter understands the ὅπως | ἂν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς μετατεθῇ ἐν | ᾧ ὁ ἀγὼν γίνεται of (*IThesp* 156 ll.21-23) – 'so that the calendar year be changed in which the *agon* takes place' – to refer to a change of the year of celebration, rather than a change in periodicity from annual or trieteric to pentaeteric - Schachter, 2016, 348.

⁵⁷⁸ Schachter, 2016, 352. Schachter's date of ca.230-225BC - Schachter, 2016, 356 - is based squarely on his identification of the King in *IThesp* 152 as Ptolemy III, for in 225BC he went over to Kleomenes and Sparta. But the fact remains that, as with the Basileia, a date post-225BC is equally acceptable, which lends the possibility that Antigonos III Doson could be the King of *IThesp* 152.

⁵⁷⁹ Schachter, 2016, 347. *IThesp* 156.

⁵⁸⁰ Foreign competitors hail from Cilicia and Lokris. Other victory lists from this period include *BCH* 98 (1974) 649.2 (*IThesp* 162); *IG* VII 1818 (*IThesp* 204); *IG* VII.1819 (*IThesp* 205); *IG* VII 1820 (*IThesp* 207); *BCH* 50 (1926) 424.45 (*IThesp* 206).

⁵⁸¹ For use at Basileia, see *IG* VII 3079; *SEG* 3.368. In *SEG* 3.367 however the ethnic *Boiōtios* is not used, something which may reflect the state of the Boiotian *koinon* during the first century BC – see below at 5.5.

⁵⁸² Schachter, 1996, 164 – see *BCH* 60 (1936) 177.II.A 23-27 – consecration of funds to provide ox, dated ca 235-230BC (*SEG* 32.456).

This may suggest that the Mouseia became pan-Boiotian as part of the changes ca.230-220BC.⁵⁸³ This pan-Boiotian dimension of the Mouseia exemplifies the role played by local cult in the promotion of a more varied and diverse picture of Boiotian identity beyond the ‘common denominators’ of shared cult. Through the promotion of a local cult and festival, the Boiotian *koinon* were promoting their own diversity, as well as celebrating a new artistic identity for which the involvement of the *Technitai* was key. Equally, the involvement of foreign rulers highlights the role played by the *agōnes* in international relations, for the evidence of Boiotian mercenaries across the wider Hellenistic world during the third and second centuries BC suggests that the financial and religious interactions between the Boiotians and Hellenistic Kings at the Mouseia had a political and military underpinning.⁵⁸⁴

3.3.6 The Ptoia at Akraiphia

During the Hellenistic period, the Ptoion – the sanctuary of Apollo at Perdikovrysi - seems to have functioned as an official oracle of the Boiotian *koinon*, in part through its closeness to the federal capital at Onchestos.⁵⁸⁵ In the final third of the third century BC the first evidence is found for the festival of the Ptoia. Depending on the reading of the various epigraphic texts, the Ptoia was either introduced at this time, or underwent a major reconstruction - no earlier texts exist which can elucidate what exactly occurred.

The evidence for the games acquiring pan-Boiotian status during the 220s will be discussed below, but first I wish to consider an inscription previously dated to ca. 235-230BC but more recently to ca.225BC which may point to an earlier Ptoia of a quite different type to

⁵⁸³ There is no evidence of contributions from other *poleis*, but there is no reason for an exceptional link between Haliartos and Thespiiai. It is possible that the granting of *asylia* occurred at the time of the re-organization, although we know only that it had been granted before 172/167BC - Schachter, 1986, 166 n.3 and 170. The *terminus ante quem* is given by the inscription from Delos which proclaims that the *Technitai* of Ionia and Hellespont received *asylia* for participation in the Pythia, Soteria, Mouseia and Agrionia (*IG* II.4.1061 l.15).

⁵⁸⁴ Boiotian mercenaries in Ptolemaic Egypt – see for example *SEG* 2.871 - dedication to Zeus and Ancestral Gods by a Corporate Body of Boiotians at Xoïs in the Delta (ca.165-145BC) – see Hennig, 1989, 179-180; Knoepfler, 1992, 440.52. Also, *SEG* 27.973 ll. 4, 11 – from Laodikeia (area of Ras Ibn Hani), list of ptolemaic mercenaries, including Boiotians, second half of third century BC - Rey-Coquais, 1978, 313-325.

⁵⁸⁵ Other oracles were used by the *koinon*, and the Ptoion was still consulted for personal use – see Schachter, 1981, 70. Two apparently distinct series of tripods, the first found exclusively at the Ptoion and dating from ca.312/304BC to ca.285/280BC, the second from the second half of the third century BC and found at the Ptoion and other Boiotian sanctuaries, were dedicated under the auspices of the *koinon*: early group - *IG* VII 2724, 2724a, 2724b, 2723; for late group see Roesch, 1965, 137-1 38; c.f. Guillon, 1943, 157-165. See Mackil, 2013, 432-439.

the later thymelic *agōn*.⁵⁸⁶ The inscription in question is a decree of Haliartos concerning a sacrifice to Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaïos (mentioned above in regard to the Mouseia) and which seems to mention participation in the Ptoia at Akraiphia (*SEG* 32.456):⁵⁸⁷

Ἄρχ[ο]ντος [Ἐμ]πεδιώνδα[ο],
 Ἑρμαῖος Ἐπιτέλεος ἔλεξε προβεβω-
 λευμένον εἴ[μ]εν αὐτῷ [πὸτ]
 [τ]ὸν δᾶμον· ἐπιδεῖ ἅ πόλις Ἀκρη[φ]ιεῖω[ν] πρ[ι]σ-
 γεῖας ἀποστείλασα Δαμό[φι]λον Ἀλε[ξί]αο,
 Δευξίλαον Θάλ[λ]ω, [Ἀ]πολλώνιο[ν patronymic],
 παρκαλῖ μὲν τὰν πόλιν Ἀρια[ρτίων ὅπ]ως
 θουσίαν συντέλει ἐν τῷ [Ἀ]θανᾶς Ἴτω-
 νίας κῆ Διὸς Καρα[ιῶ] τεμέν[ει], ἀξι[οῖ δὲ]
 πεμπέμεν ἀπὸ πόλιος ἱππ[έ]ας [ἐν τὸν] ἀ[γῶ]ν[α]
 τὸν ἀπὸ τελέων ἐν τῷ Πτωίων ἀ[γῶ]νι·

In the archonship of Empediondas. Hermaios, son of Epiteles presented this *probouleuma* (decree) to the people. Since the city of Akraiphia having sent out as ambassadors Damophilos, son of Alexias and Deuxillaos son of Thallos, Apollonios [son of...] calls on the city of Haliartos to join in the sacrifice at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaïos and deems it right (for Haliartos?) to send cavalymen to the contests by teams at the contest of the Ptoia.⁵⁸⁸

Differing interpretations have been given to this decree and the events it encapsulates. Roesch has argued that before the reorganization of the Ptoia ca.228-224BC, equestrian contests were held in a purely local *agōn* of the same name.⁵⁸⁹ Schachter has suggested this militaristic *agōn* may have been connected to the hero Ptoios of Kastraki; that the change from the militaristic to the thymelic accompanied a change of ownership of the games from Ptoios

⁵⁸⁶ The Ptoia as thymelic, see for example *IG* VII 2712, line 75. Early dating – Rigsby, 1987, 736–7; late dating – Schachter, 2016, 355. In fact, any date between ca.235 and 220BC is possible – see Roesch, 1982, 207.

Rigsby's early date is simply to reflect the fact that the Haliartans compare the money for the military festival with that provided for the Mouseia, and not with that given for the Ptoia, suggesting this decree pre-dates a pan-Boiotian Ptoia. This assumes, without reason, that the money given to different games was always equal.

⁵⁸⁷ See *SEG* 32.456 for full text. Nafissi, 1997, 111-120 suggests a date ca.220BC. See also *SEG* 45.440.

⁵⁸⁸ Adapted from Rigsby, 1988, 730.

⁵⁸⁹ Roesch, 1982, 240-243; cf. *SEG* 32.439.

at Kastraki to Apollo at Perdikovrysi.⁵⁹⁰ While Roesch posited that the decree involved two quite separate elements (an invitation by Akraiphia for the Haliartans to take part in military games; another to join the Akraiphian ambassadors in sacrificing to Athena and Zeus at Haliartos), Rigsby interprets the decree as a *single* invitation to a contest for Zeus Karaios and Athena Itonia – goddess of the military Pamboiotia – this contest being a local imitation of the Pamboiotia.⁵⁹¹ The invitation, Rigsby states, may have been to take part in one of the local competitions held in every Boiotian city in which the victorious teams were chosen to represent the respective city at the Pamboiotia at Koroneia some two months later in October (Akraiphia and Haliartos being members of the same *telos*); yet the decree was not open ended, and seems to have referred to one occasion only.⁵⁹² As such Rigsby posits the invitation as resulting from a recent collaborative effort of the two *poleis*; possibly a shared military victory during the successes of the Boiotians and Demetrios II in the Megarid ca.236BC.⁵⁹³ In a similar vein, Manieri has suggested that the solemnity of the invitation speaks of an important occasion, and suggests that during the celebration of the Ptoia, the Akraiphians organized games in *lieu* of the Pamboiotia, which had been suspended through the incursions of the Aitolians (despite the *asylia*) into the sanctuary ‘during a time of peace’ ca.222-220BC.⁵⁹⁴ In fact Manieri interprets the sanctuary of Zeus Karaios and Athena Itonia as the Koroneian Itonion, with these hippic games held in their usual place on the plain; and the decree to Haliartos just one of many to each of the Boiotian *poleis*.⁵⁹⁵

Given the understandable lack of consensus of interpretation (the evidence being too thin to reach any firm conclusion), it is possible that the Amphiktyonic decree (*IG* VII 4135) regarding the Ptoia – which, as mentioned above is inscribed above the oracle of Trophonius concerning the Ptoia and Basileia (*IG* VII 4136), and a grant of money from a Larymnian (*IG* VII 4137) and dated to the 220s – may in fact be referring to the games’ inauguration rather

⁵⁹⁰ And marking the final step in the history of the hero Ptoios – Schachter, 1996, 19 and 21. Horse and military bronze dedications have been found at the shrine of Ptoios at Kastraki, but this is as far as the evidence goes – see Roesch, 1982, 242; Guillon, 1943, 152 n.6; *BCH* 88 (1964), 859.

⁵⁹¹ Roesch, 1982, 240-243; Rigsby, 1987, 729-740. Rigsby rightly rejects Roesch’s odd suggestion that the Akraiphians invited a delegation from Haliartos to visit the Haliartans own temple – Rigsby, 1987, 737.

⁵⁹² Rigsby, 1987, 738. Rigsby posits the invitation as resulting from some close recent collaborative effort of the two *poleis*; possibly a shared military victory during the successes of the Boiotians and Demetrios II in the Megarid ca. 236BC, but the later dating would render this specific link meaningless.

⁵⁹³ Rigsby, 1987, 738.

⁵⁹⁴ Manieri, 2009, 96-98; ‘time of peace’ – Polybius, 4.25.2; 4.3.5. See also *SEG* 46-530. Mackil suggests that the cavalry contest was part of a separate concurrent festival to the Ptoia, for Athena Itonia and Zeus Karaios – see Mackil, 2013, 224 n.289.

⁵⁹⁵ Manieri, 2009, 97-98.

than re-invention.⁵⁹⁶ The decree grants personal inviolability to the *Technitai* who compete in the Ptoia, and *asylia* to the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios (Il.1-4); a sacred truce and safe passage from the fifteenth of Hippodromios (the beginning of August)(Il.10-11); accords full powers to the prophet and priest of Apollo Ptoios, the *polis* of Akraiphia and the Boiotian *koinon*, and the *agōnothetēs* of the Ptoia (Il.12-16); with Ptoiokles son of Potamodoros to record the decision and set it up at Delphi and at the Ptoion (Il.16-18).⁵⁹⁷ As I have already discussed, the request for *asylia* is perhaps best understood as a seeking of honour; yet *asylia* also had a more pragmatic dimension. Rigsby has suggested that the Boiotian pursuit of *asylia* for a number of its sanctuaries and games during the 220s (the Agrionia at Thebes, the Basileia at Lebadeia, and arguably the Mouseia at Thespiiai) reveals a consciousness of the need for such measures based on the political climate – namely the victories of Antigonos III Doson ca.228BC which led the Boiotians to form a common cause with the Aitolians following their defection of the 230s.⁵⁹⁸ Given the Aitolians’ disregard for the *asylia* of the Itonion later in the decade, my own feeling is that honour was the real motivation over pragmatism, and that once *asylia* was gained by one Boiotian sanctuary, Boiotian inter-*polis* rivalry almost inevitably led to other equal requests. As I will argue in Chapter Five, this rivalry may explain why the Boiotian *agōnes* of all those of the Greek mainland seemed subject to sudden spurts of growth.

That the Ptoia was of wider interest outside Boiotia at this time is unlikely. The decree mentions an *agōnothetēs* (l.15), but we do not learn if this *agōnothetēs* was to be a representative of Akraiphia or some other Boiotian *polis*, and we are left to guess whether the interests of the *koinon* were restricted to the affairs of the temple, or included the games.⁵⁹⁹ Rigsby considers that the missing part of the decree may have included a request for pan-Boiotian status, something which Feyel argues occurred at the same time and which later decrees detailing the sending of sacrifice by various Boiotian *poleis* seem to validate.⁶⁰⁰ The proclamation of the games as sacred in the oracle of Trophonius (*IG* VII 4136), as I mentioned

⁵⁹⁶ For the dating of the decree, see above on the dating of the Delphic archon Kallias; sometime ca.230-225BC is the most acceptable dating. The decree is carved onto a plaque of blue-grey marble originally found in the temple of Apollo at Perdikovyri - Rigsby, 1996, 63.

⁵⁹⁷ Rigsby, 1996, 59 and 65-66.

⁵⁹⁸ Rigsby, 1996, 61. The Boiotians fought the Macedonians in 227BC (Polyb. 20.5) and it may have been fear of this event which led to these decrees.

⁵⁹⁹ Whether the mention of the *agōnothetēs* here points merely to a change in his status, or rather the first appearance of this role – and hence proof of this being an inauguration of games rather than a re-organization – is unclear; Rigsby, 1996, 67 argues for an increase of status but is swayed by an early dating for *SEG* 32.456.

⁶⁰⁰ See Feyel, 1942a, 133-147; Rigsby, 1996, 61 n.27 for other references.

above, was probably poetic effusion; Akraiphia herself seems not to have interpreted the oracle in this way and claimed Panhellenic status for the games, although the games seem to have become *stephanitēs* by the first century BC.⁶⁰¹ Whatever the exact meaning of the Amphityonic decree and the oracle of Trophonius, certainly there occurred a re-organization (if not inauguration) of the Ptoia during the same decade as that of the Mouseia and the Basileia, and once again there is, we note, a role in this of the *Technitai* and the Boiotian *koinon*.

3.4 Summary

The Hellenistic period ushered in an era of increasing agonistic competition within Boiotia, as well as throughout the wider Greek world, most especially in the Greek east. While the changes to the Boiotian festivals – especially during the third century BC – must be viewed against this general Hellenistic pattern, it must be remembered that the Boiotian *agōnes* themselves make up a substantial portion of this pattern, and that the Boiotians must be viewed as pursuing their own agenda. Of the possible eighteen examples of games achieving Panhellenic status during this period, arguably one third were Boiotian, the Boiotian examples outnumbering all the other mainland festivals combined.⁶⁰² Rather than following an external trend, the Boiotians seem to have been actively pursuing a unique set of agendas linked to specific circumstances within Boiotia. Whatever its motivation, the granting of *asylia* to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia and the associated Pamboiotia during the 260s (the first extant example of such an act) seems to have opened the other Boiotian sanctuaries and their *agōnes* to the possibility of a similar honour. Inter-*polis* rivalry must also have played its part. The presence of the Guild of the *Technitai* of Dionysus, who had a headquarters at Thebes, also seems to have played a crucial role in the gaining of *asylia* during the 220s, although presumably they could have played no role in the granting of *asylia* to the Itoneion with its non-thymelic, militaristic, Pamboiotia.⁶⁰³ Unique in mainland Greece, this *asylia* granted to the Boiotian sanctuaries and their *agōnes* a status equal to the games of the *periodos*, and yet

⁶⁰¹ Poetic effusion - Rigsby, 1996, 64-65. Parker has argued that the Ptoia was seeking status as *stephanitēs* - Parker, 2004, 19. On use of *hieros* see Remijsen, 2011, 106. Earliest technical use of *hieros* – *IDelos* IV 1957 (ca. 150-130BC), see Rigsby, 1996, 64 or Schachter, 2016, 387 n.34, who cites *IG* XII 8.190, from Samothrace as the earliest example. Ptoia as *stephanitēs* in first century BC, see *IG* VII 4138 l.15; 4139 ll.5-10.

⁶⁰² Parker, 2004, 18-22.

⁶⁰³ They were linked to *asylia* at the Agrionia at Thebes (*FD* III 1.351) and the Ptoia (*IG* VII 4135), and arguably at the Mouseia (see Knoepfler 1996, 161-162). They had no link to the possible *asylia* at the Basileia.

achieved in a distinctively Boiotian manner, for the *asylia* seems not to have been linked to the quest for stephanitic or Pan-Hellenic status *per se* (especially in its more practical aspects), but simply to the bestowal of honour.⁶⁰⁴ The possibility that the threat of real disruption of the festivals was at least part of the motivation for *asylia* does little to diminish the prestige the granting of such a status conferred.

The reason for the upturn of the 220s - in which evidence exists for the re-organization and change of status for the Ptoia, the *Trieteris* for Dionysus Kadmeios (Agrionia) at Thebes, the Mouseia, and arguably the Basileia, as well as the (re-)commencement of construction of the new temple of Zeus Basileus and possibly the sanctuaries in the vale of the Muses – remains unclear. It is tempting to follow Nafissi and see the alliance with Antigonos III Doson in his campaign against Sparta as having some bearing on the building programme at the sanctuary of Zeus Basileus, and by extension the Basileia, given the famously anti-Spartan stance of both Zeus Basileus and Trophonius at Lebadeia.⁶⁰⁵ But such an interest seems decidedly local, and minimal given the probable commencement of the construction before these events. The timing of the changes at the Mouseia also arguably predates this period, as does that of the Theban *Trieteris*. Here the input of the Guild of *Technitai* seems to have played a significant role, as does the granting of *asylia* to the Itonion in the 260s, an act which opened-up the possibility of the conferring of a national honour on a local sanctuary. It ought to be imagined that the local elites of the individual *poleis* were themselves a driving force for achieving these honours.

The upturn of the latter half of the third century BC clearly reveals that local games were assuming unprecedented importance at this time. The funds required to finance these changes and to run the games themselves – witness the application to foreign rulers at the Mouseia and the presence of money in the building programme at Lebadeia whose ultimate source was Macedonia – demonstrate how the *agōnes* had become a central concern amongst the Boiotian elites; not as competitors as in Pindar's time, but as financiers. Named individuals begin to stand out, *agōnothetēs* such as Neon of Thebes and Hierokles of Thespiiai; or Ptoikles of Akraiphia charged with displaying the Amphiktyonic decree concerning the Ptoia at Delphi and the Ptoion. In a period of political instability, with Boiotia playing more of a reactive role than the

⁶⁰⁴ By practical aspects I mean the financial burdens owed by the *polis* to its victorious citizens through a victory at such a contest. In the Pamboiotia, this financial meaning could only have applied inside Boiotia, as there were no non-Boiotian competitors.

⁶⁰⁵ See Nafissi, 1995, 149-169.

dominant one it had enjoyed in the previous century, Boiotian pride and identity seems to have been channeled into the field of agonistic contests. This process seems in part to have been a specifically Boiotian phenomenon, and less an effort to keep up with the wider Hellenistic world. But this is not to say that the Boiotians were not aware of the role of the *agōnes* in projecting local and regional identity into that wider world, and it is important to consider the impression the re-organized and newly inaugurated Boiotian games would have given. Of the five *agōnes* for which the latter half of the third century BC provide our first evidence, four of these – the Eleutheria notwithstanding – were thymelic contests. It is possible, too, that the third century BC saw the introduction of thymelic events at the Basileia, something Schachter has suggested was more fitting for a visible Hellenistic festival run by the *koinon* as a whole, being more akin to the prestigious programme of the *periodos*.⁶⁰⁶ The inclusion of a wide variety of events in an elaborate and often eclectic programme was characteristic of Hellenistic games, and the Boiotians here appear to have embraced this more popular facet of agonistic competition, even if it meant a break from the more traditional Boiotian contests. The break from the purely hippic and athletic events of the fifth and fourth centuries BC is dramatic: no hippic events are recorded during the third century BC (save for those associated with the military team games of the Pamboiotia), yet this may simply have been a local manifestation of a more widespread phenomenon.⁶⁰⁷ Equally, the presence of the *Technitai*, with their ready-made thymelic competitors, clearly had an effect on the direction of the development of the Boiotian *agōnes*, and thereby on the identity which Boiotia was now projecting into the wider world. It is doubtful, however, that the presence of the *Technitai* unduly influenced the choice of cult to be venerated through the games, even though the new festivals each celebrated deities with artistic associations – Apollo, the Muses, and Dionysus. Apollo Ptoios, the Muses at Thespiiai, and Dionysus at Thebes had all been prominent recipients of Boiotian cult before the third century BC. The oracle of Apollo Ptoios, for example, was central to the *koinon* and a deserving recipient of an agonistic festival.⁶⁰⁸ The increased prestige linked to the *agōnes* across the Hellenistic world clearly provided the right conditions for the creation of new games,

⁶⁰⁶ Schachter suggests also hippic although there is no evidence for hippic events in the third century BC – Schachter, 1994, 116 n.5.

⁶⁰⁷ The underrepresentation of these races (at least in the later Hellenistic period onwards) suggests that hippic competition had simply become less attractive as a whole; presumably navigating the increasingly fraught agonistic circuit with horses in tow was becoming a less attractive proposition – Remijsen, 2015, 169; Cameron, 1976, 204–05. Equestrian events were still included in some *agōnes* and would return to Boiotia in the next century at the Theban Herakleia – see Heberdey et Wilhelm, 1896, 81.

⁶⁰⁸ If the Ptoia had not already existed – see 3.3.6 above.

allowing the influential men of the *polis* to honour their own local cult with an *agōn*, and thereby raise the prestige of the *polis* and themselves into the bargain; the presence of a branch of the Guild of *Technitai* in Thebes would merely have served to make this process easier.

Chapter Four: The Later Hellenistic Period (200-100BC)

The Coming of Rome and the Dissolution of the Boiotian *Koinon*

4.1 Introduction

In 217BC, so Polybius records, Agelaos of Naupaktos, a dignitary of the Aitolian League, urged the Greeks assembled at the coastal city by the Macedonian King Philip V to put an end to their incessant squabbles and turn their united attention to the clouds looming from the west – Rome – fearing the loss of the freedom of the Greeks to ‘fight and make peace with one another whenever they so wanted’ (πολεμεῖν ὅταν βουλώμεθα καὶ διαλύεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους).⁶⁰⁹ Twenty years later, at the Battle of Kynoskephalai (197BC), Philip V and his Macedonian forces were decisively defeated by the Roman troops under the consul Titus Quinctius Flaminius. The following year Flaminius announced the freedom of the Greeks at a meeting of the Isthmian games (Plutarch *Life of Flaminius* 10.3-4):⁶¹⁰

Ἴσθμίων οὖν ἀγομένων πλῆθος μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ καθήστο τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα θεωμένων, οἷα δὲ διὰ χρόνων πεπαυμένης μὲν πολέμων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ’ ἐλπίσιν ἐλευθερίας, σαφεῖ δὲ εἰρήνῃ πανηγυριζούσης· [...]προελθὼν εἰς μέσον ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπεν ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἢ σύγκλητος καὶ Τίτος Κοῖντιος στρατηγὸς ὕπατος καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἀφιαῖσιν ἀφρουρήτους καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀφορολογήτους, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις,

Accordingly, at the Isthmian games, where a great throng of people were sitting in the stadium and watching the athletic contests (since, indeed, after many years Greece had at last ceased from wars waged in hopes of freedom, and was now holding festival in time of assured peace) ... the herald, coming forward into the midst of the spectators, made a proclamation that the Roman senate and Titus Quintius Flaminius proconsular general, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians, restored to

⁶⁰⁹ Polybius 5.104. The Greeks were assembled on this occasion to arbitrate a settlement for the Social War (220-217BC) between Philip V of Macedon’s Hellenic League and the Aitolian League. See Polybius 4.26 for start of the War. Philip V eventually assumed dominance over Greece and led the resistance against Rome.

⁶¹⁰ On Battle of Kynoskephalai see Plut. *Flam.* 8.

freedom, without garrisons and without imposts, and to the enjoyment of their ancient laws ...⁶¹¹

The ‘freedom’ bestowed by Flaminius from the Macedonian yoke was a relative state. As Pausanias himself states of the Achaians, at the beginning of the second century BC they saw little difference between the domination of Macedonia and that of Rome (7.8.2). As for the Boiotians, they were to continue wavering in their devotions between Rome and Macedon for some time yet, although the final result of their mostly anti-Roman stance would be the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* ca.171BC. Given such a catastrophic end, with the removal of their political and military institutions and in many respects their federal identity, the question of how the Boiotians continued to function as a community needs to be addressed.⁶¹² The answer to at least part of this question is hinted at in the Plutarch passage above. Plutarch’s wording suggests that the peacetime festivals were in many ways a replacement for the ‘wars waged in hopes of freedom’ of the previous centuries; that the Greek agonistic spirit which had once found expression through Agelaos’ freedom to ‘fight and make peace with one another whenever they so wanted’ now sought its outlet in games, Hesiod’s bad *Eris* being replaced with the good.⁶¹³

In the subsequent chapters of this thesis, I will argue that it was precisely through the medium of games that the Greeks achieved a sublimation of the militaristic self-expression denied them under Rome; that the *agōnes* thus became - in a way unimaginable in the previous centuries – the most important *locus* for the active expression of Greek identity in the Roman world; and that through the communal celebrations of their *agōnes* and local festivals, the Boiotians maintained (and in fact actively developed) their collective identity in the absence of a political grounding, in a way which mirrored the very process through which a communal Boiotian identity developed in the first place.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹¹ Trans. Perrin, 1921, 351.

⁶¹² The differing allegiances of the various Boiotian *poleis* towards the external powers must remind us that a single Boiotian community and identity ought not be assumed as the default mode, and that individual *poleis* were as capable as ever as acting as individual entities.

⁶¹³ Hesiod *Op.* 11-16.

⁶¹⁴ The following chapters will focus on aspects of the process of Boiotian self-promotion under the changing rule of Rome as the evidence arises. Hence I will discuss ‘the Invention of tradition’ and the ‘Second Sophistic’ in Chapters Six and Seven.

4.2 Historical Outline: The dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* and events down to ca.146BC⁶¹⁵

In 197BC, before the Battle of Kynoskephalai, Titus Quinctius Flaminius constrained the Boiotians to become *socii* (allies) of the Romans, attempting to separate Boiotia from the Achaian League and Macedon.⁶¹⁶ Yet not all of the Boiotians followed this order, and some remained in the Macedonian camp. Despite Flaminius' eventual magnanimity and mildness of response, the Boiotian assembly elected a pro-Macedonian roster of candidates into the key positions of the League, including the Boiotarch Bracchyles, the son of the Hipparch Neon who – as discussed in the previous chapter - had spared the life of the beached Antigonus III Doson at Larymna and had profited handsomely thereby.⁶¹⁷ In time Bracchyles was exiled to Macedon, and when allowed to return was killed by pro-Roman Aitolian and Italian assassins in 197/196BC.⁶¹⁸

During the following decades Boiotia wavered between loyalty to Macedon and Rome, the Roman consul Manius Acilius Glabrio plundering Boiotia in 191BC after one such period of erring. In 179BC the Boiotians undertook a renewed military alliance with Perseus, King of Macedon, himself reneging on a previous truce with Rome, and in 172BC Rome sent to Greece to finally end the Macedonian threat. Members of the Boiotian League met the Roman ambassador Quintus Marcius Philippus in Euboea claiming alliance with Rome, but with Haliartos, Thisbe, and Koroneia remaining steadfast in their opposition, from this moment the League was effectively split, and in 172/171BC, Roman legates carried out the senatorial order to negotiate the terms of surrender with each *polis* separately.⁶¹⁹ Thus the Boiotian *koinon* was dissolved, as Rome had intended all along, or so we hear from Polybius (27.2.7).⁶²⁰

πάντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρόθεσιν αὐτοῖς χωροῦντων—ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὸ διαλῦσαι τῶν
Βοιωτῶν τὸ ἔθνος καὶ λυμήνασθαι τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὐνοίαν πρὸς τὴν Μακεδόνων
οἰκίαν—

⁶¹⁵ The main sources covering this period include Diod. Sic. 29.1; Plut. *Philopoemen*; *Flaminius*; *Aratus*.

⁶¹⁶ See Livy, 33.2.6-9.

⁶¹⁷ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 156. For pro-Macedonian influence of Bracchyles see Polybius 20.5-6.

⁶¹⁸ Polyb. 18.43.1-12; Livy 33.27.5-11; Mackil, 2013, 126-127; Waterfield, 2014, 96.

⁶¹⁹ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 156. See also Roesch, 1965, 69-71; Larsen, 1968, 359-504; Buck, 1993, 106; Müller, 2007. Livy 42.47.4-9; Diod. Sic. 30.1.

⁶²⁰ A league of sorts operated under pro-Roman leadership from 167 until 146BC, but this was then dissolved in 146BC - Beck and Ganter, 2015, 156.

When all fell out as desired—their object being to break up the Boiotian League and damage the good opinion of the many towards Macedon—

And again, from Livy (42.44.6):

Ita, quod maxime volebant, discusso Boeotico concilio in Peloponnesum proficiscuntur Ser. Cornelio Chalcidem accersito.

In this way, having managed what they had wanted most, the breaking of the Boiotian League, they set out for the Peloponnese after summoning Servius Cornelius to Chalcis.

Before 171BC, Onchestos had been the seat of the Boiotian federal government, as is revealed by the number of inscriptions scattered throughout Boiotia which refer back to the ‘Archon in Onchestos’.⁶²¹ But after 171BC Onchestos was abandoned. There were no more federal archons, federal magistracies, a federal assembly, or justice institutions.⁶²² Following the victory of the Roman consul Publius Licinius Crassus and his 50,000 troops over Macedonia in 171BC, the Romans turned their attention to the three Boiotian *poleis* which had resisted: Haliartos was destroyed (later becoming an Athenian enclave within Boiotia), while Thisbe and Koroneia surrendered.⁶²³

The final act of resistance to Rome came in the form of Kritolaos’ Achaian League, which gained support from some of the *poleis* of the old Boiotian League, and which ended in the victory at Chaironeia of the Roman general Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in 146BC. In this same year (the same that Rome destroyed Carthage), the consul Lucius Mummius Achaicus sacked Corinth and the era of Roman Greece began. In Boiotia the fortifications at Thebes were demolished and leading anti-Romans executed.⁶²⁴ The Achaian League was dissolved and both Achaia and Boiotia came under the control of Rome, Boiotia

⁶²¹ Listed by Schachter, including *IG* VII 27; 28; 209-212; 214-218; 220-222; 1747; 1748; 1750; 1755; XII 9.912; and *SEG* 3.361; 23.281; 25.504. The majority of these date to the end of the third century BC and beginning of the second century BC; none are found later than 171BC - Schachter, 1986, 208. Coinage pre-171BC shows a garlanded Poseidon on the obverse, ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ on the reverse, revealing Poseidon as the federal god of the Boiotians - Müller, 2014, 123. This dating is partly based on the fact that in 169BC Haliartos, in whose territory Onchestos lay, was given to Athenian control – see Etienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 344.

⁶²² Müller, 2014, 119. Boiotarchs do not reappear until the second half of the first century BC.

⁶²³ Livy 42.63. *Syll*³ 646.

⁶²⁴ Strabo 8.6.23.

being placed more directly under the supervision of the government of Macedon.⁶²⁵ From this time on Rome was no longer interested in direct interference, but rather the exercise of remote control, the Senate doing as little as possible short of endangering Roman dominion.⁶²⁶ The cities of the former Leagues found themselves with limited powers of self-administration, and even more limited military capabilities.⁶²⁷ This was in effect the culmination of the process which had begun with the dissolution of the *koinon* in 171BC.

4.3 Boiotian Games down to 146BC

The political events of the period up to 146BC had direct ramifications for the celebration of the Boiotian *agōnes*, with the creation of new games at Akraiphia named the Soteria, and the disappearance of those games most closely associated with the Boiotian *koinon*, namely the Pamboiotia and Basileia.

The cult of Zeus *Soter* – ‘saviour’ - is first attested at Akraiphia during the second century BC, on an inscription carved upon a cylindrical altar (*SEG* 15.332).⁶²⁸

Ἀ πόλις Ἀκρηφιέων ἀπὸ τῶν [γε]νομένων περισάων
 χρειμάτων, ἀγωνοθετίοντος Μεγακλεῖος τῷ Καλλικλεῖος,
 Διὶ Σωτῆρι ἀνέθηκεν.

The *polis* of Akraiphia, from the money left over when Megakles son of Kallikles was *agōnothetēs*, set this up to Zeus *Soter*

If the recipient of the dedication bears any relation to the games for which the *agōnothetēs* was responsible, then we also have here our first evidence of the Akraiphian Soteria.⁶²⁹ Schachter has suggested that another inscription incised on a statue base dated by Feyel to

⁶²⁵ Waterfield, 2014, 225; see also Cicero *Verr.* 2.1.55.

⁶²⁶ Waterfield, 2014, 218.

⁶²⁷ Waterfield, 2014, 225-226.

⁶²⁸ We know, however, that Zeus *Karaios* was worshipped at Akraiphia from at least the third century BC – see *SEG* 32.456. Other cults of Zeus *Soter* are attested – usually with military links – elsewhere in Boiotia such as Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3206) and Thespiiai (*Anth.Gr.* 6.344) – dedications of troops returning from campaigning in Asia with Alexander ca.329BC – Schachter, 1994, 123 and 150; Zeus *Soter* is also attested at Thebes and Plataia – Schachter, 1994, 149, and 143.

⁶²⁹ Schachter, 1994, 94.

171BC-167BC, and hence to the years immediately following the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon*, may reveal a motive for the games' inauguration (*SEG* 15.331):⁶³⁰

Ἀ πόλις Ἀκραφιδίων ἀνέθηκε Πόπλιον
Κορνήλιον Λευκίῳ οὐῖδὸν Λέντολον
τὸν αὐσαντᾶς σωτεῖρα κῆ εὐερ-
γέταν τῷς θιῷς.

The *polis* of Akraiphia set this up to the gods [in honour of] Publius Cornelius Lentulus son of Lucius, for his deliverance and benefaction

Publius Cornelius Lentulus had been sent by the Senate to Thebes in 171BC with three hundred Italian soldiers, to keep Boiotia loyal to Rome.⁶³¹ We know that he laid siege to Haliartos with a part of the Boiotian army, but his actions at Akraiphia are unknown, and it is possible that he was honoured by the *polis* for protecting it against either the Romans or against their fellow Boiotians, and that the Soteria was established to celebrate this deliverance.⁶³² The later Soteria was a trieteric *agōn*, with thymelic/dramatic and athletic events - judging from the two fragmentary first-century BC victor lists which survive - and a decidedly local clientele, the furthest victors hailing from Chalkis and Opous.⁶³³ They stand out however for their early and positive reaction to Roman intervention (an attribute also found in the Theban Romaia, an *agōn* whose inauguration can be credibly linked to another act of Roman clemency later in the century) at a time when the *de rigueur* renaming of contests in honour of Rome still lay sometime in the future. Here at Akraiphia, right at the beginning of the Roman actions in Greece, we witness the importance for the *polis* and its dominant elites of forging a visible and positive relation with Rome, and the role played by the *agōnes* in the expression of this positive relationship.

During the first half of the second century BC the Basileia at Lebadeia continued to be celebrated, with victor lists revealing the self-same range of events as during the earlier part of the third century BC. Victors are named from as far afield as Smyrna and Antioch on the Pyramus, while the ethnic *Boiōtios* given for the Boiotian victors points to the continuing

⁶³⁰ Schachter, 1994, 94; Feyel, 1955, 419.1.

⁶³¹ Livy 42.47.12.

⁶³² Livy 42.56.3-5; Schachter, 1994, 94.

⁶³³ Schachter, 1994, 94. *IG* VII 2727 ca.80BC (dated by Gossage, 1975, 126-127) and *IG* VII 2728 ca. first century BC.

federal organization of the games.⁶³⁴ Despite Schachter's claim that the Basileia enjoyed a second revival of sorts near the end of the second century BC – something which seems to have occurred for both the Ptoia and Mouseia and to which I will return below – his evidence relies on a number of inscriptions now more confidently dated to the first century BC, most probably after the Mithridatic War.⁶³⁵ The celebration of the federal Basileia thus seems to have ended with the dissolution of the *koinon* in 171BC.⁶³⁶ It is in the light of this disappearance that we might best understand the appearance ca.140BC of a new competition called the Trophonia, named in honour of the Lebadeian oracular god, and organized by the *polis* of Lebadeia.⁶³⁷ Presumably Lebadeia wished to reaffirm its prestigious place on the agonistic circuit following the loss of the Basileia. The earliest inscriptions relating to the Trophonia date from ca.135-130BC, and include the catalogue of victories of Menodoros from Athens found at Delos (*IDel* 1957 – *SEG* 38.774), who boasts an impressive range of wins at the Trophonia in wrestling, boxing and pankration. Another unnamed boxer, a Megarian, also recorded a victory at the Trophonia around this time (*IG* VII 47). These athletic events, characteristic of the Basileia, may reveal the Trophonia as a locally-organized version of the federal festival, the presence of an Athenian and a Megarian among the victors suggesting a relatively wide participation, although not as broad as that of the original *koinon*-organized Basileia.⁶³⁸ These games ran until ca.80BC, the period in which Knoepfler places the re-establishment of Boiotian *koinon*.⁶³⁹ It is at this time that we once again see evidence for the Basileia, and the disappearance of the Trophonia. I shall return to this pattern and the re-establishment of the Boiotian *koinon* in the section on the Mithridatic Wars.

Given the lapse of celebration of the Basileia following the dissolution of the *koinon* in 171BC, it is of interest that the Pamboiotia at Koroneia is also absent from the epigraphic

⁶³⁴ *SEG* 3.368 - events include trumpet, herald, prosodion, epic poet, rhapsode, boy's and men's dolichols', boy's stadion; *SEG* 11.338 gives us the additional men's stadion.

⁶³⁵ Revival at end of the second century BC - Schachter, 1994, 117. *IG* IX 2.614a Larisa in Thessaly εἰς ὁ παρ' Ἐρκύγγα Βασιλῆϊος athletic *SEG* 14.478 Potidaea – stadion, diaulos, hoplite race ca.100BC - Knoepfler dates these now to early imperial period – Knoepfler, 2008b, 1454 and 1457.

⁶³⁶ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1461. Proof of third-century BC federal status is found with the presence of a Theban *agōnothetēs*, Neon son of Askondas (*IG* VII 3091).

⁶³⁷ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1461.

⁶³⁸ Without victory lists it is unclear if the lack of musical or poetic contests found at the Basileia represents a reduced programme or change of survival.

⁶³⁹ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1454. He suggests after the Mithridatic wars, either 85-80BC or 75-70BC, or later, in the context of Lucullus' identification of those areas of Greece worst savaged by Sulla. See below for more detail on this upturn. Müller, more convincingly, argues for a later date towards the last third of the first century BC - Müller, 2014, 125-127. I will return to Müller's arguments below.

records of this period, reappearing like the Basileia during the first century BC, a hiatus which Schachter suggests points to a suspension of the festival.⁶⁴⁰ In fact a firm cut-off date for the Pamboiotia ca.171BC is far from certain, especially given the lack of inscriptional evidence concerning the games much later than mid-third century BC. There may be reason to suspect an earlier disappearance, this being Koroneia's tendency to stand opposed to the majority of the Boiotian *poleis* at key intervals during this turbulent time. From 198-170BC Haliartos, Thisbe, and Koroneia, were pro-Macedonian, motivated perhaps by the rivalry between these cities and Thebes.⁶⁴¹ The fractious state of Boiotia at this time seems unconducive to a celebration of a unifying pan-Boiotian festival, especially games held so close to one of the errant pro-Macedonian *poleis*. Following defeat in 172/171BC, Haliartos was destroyed, its walls razed to the ground, 2,500 of its citizens sold into slavery, and its territory handed over to the Athenians; Thisbe and Koroneia seem to have got off lightly.⁶⁴² Given that suppression of festivals does not seem to have been standard Roman practice during their conquest, it is likely that the apparent continued absence of the Pamboiotia, like that of the Basileia, simply reflects the fact that the federal organs which had once administered the festival were no longer in existence to do so.

In contrast to these federal games, between 171BC and 146BC we have evidence for the continuation of a number of the most important Boiotian agonistic festivals, including the Theban Herakleia, the Amphiaraia Megala at Oropos, the Eleutheria at Plataia, and the Mouseia at Thespiiai.⁶⁴³ The Herakleia had possibly become *stephanitēs* by the middle of the second century BC and presumably either trieteric or pentaeteric: a victory list from Argos (ca.200-180BC) refers to a victory in the men's diaulos by an unknown runner at the Herakleia amongst a number of other pentaeteric or trieteric festivals.⁶⁴⁴ Given the re-organization of so many other events by the end of the third century BC, it is possible that the Herakleia was no

⁶⁴⁰ Schachter, 1981, 124.

⁶⁴¹ See Müller, 1996, 127-141.

⁶⁴² On Haliartos, see Livy, 42.63. As for Koroneia, inscriptions suggest that the pro-Macedonians were killed and pro-Romans bolstered the city walls kept intact – see *Syll*³ 646 (Sherk, 1969, 2). A decree found at Koroneia *SEG* 19.374 is a *senatus consultum* concerning the city's fate – see Sherk, 1984, 20. See also Livy 42.46.7-110; 42.63.3; 43.4.11; Polybius 27.5.1-3.

⁶⁴³ Examples include - Delia - *IG* VII 20; Herakleia - *SEG* 37.360; Amphiaraia - *IG* VII 411; Eleutheria - *SEG* 21.458; Mouseia *BCH* 19 (1895) 334.8 – for a fuller account see Table 1 in the appendix.

⁶⁴⁴ *SEG* 11.338 and Robert, *AE* 1977 [1979], 210 n.1. Equally, a decree from Athens honouring Telesias of Troizen as *archetheoros* of both the Agrionia and Herakleia at Thebes in 140/139BC (*IG* II² 971) reveals to Robert the stephanitic nature of both these games by this time - Robert, 1935a, 194 n.4.

exception, especially given its prominent history.⁶⁴⁵ An inscription at the Museum in Thebes dated by Roesch ca.170-150BC records one Bracchyles as *agōnothetēs* of the Herakleia.⁶⁴⁶ Although his patronym is lost, Roesch is no doubt correct in suggesting a family link with the Bracchyles, son of Neon, killed by the Aitolians in 197BC.⁶⁴⁷ The interest of this important family, so prominent in the funding of the Basileia, may suggest a similar role at Thebes with the organization of the Herakleia.

The Mouseia at Thespiiai, despite its close links to the Boiotian *koinon* (it too used the ethnic *Boiōtios* on its victory lists) survived intact, doubtless through its prestigious links with foreign rulers and the continued role played in its organization by the nearby *polis* of Thespiiai, this strong local link being absent at both the Basileia and Pamboiotia.⁶⁴⁸ The events at each of these games discussed above remain the same as during the Hellenistic period, the only exception being the Amphiaraia Megala at Oropos, in which only athletic events are recorded for the second century BC, in contrast to the Hellenistic thymelic and dramatic *agōn*.⁶⁴⁹ But as no complete victor lists exist for either period for the Amphiaraia, it is likely that this pattern represents simply the chance of discovery from a games which probably boasted both gymnastic and thymelic competitions. As such, the overall pattern for this period shows little change except in the absence of those *agōnes* most closely linked to the *koinon* - the Pamboiotia and Basileia - and the creation of one *agōn* possibly linked to Roman clemency - the Soteria at Akraiphia.

4.4 Boiotian Games from 146BC to the end of the second century BC

For Greece as a whole, as König has noted, following the Roman subjugation of the mid-second century BC, there seems to have been a slight reduction in the scale and volume of

⁶⁴⁵ Although as noted in the last chapter, epigraphic evidence is missing from the third century BC.

⁶⁴⁶ Roesch, 1975, 5-6.

⁶⁴⁷ Roesch, 1975, 5-6.

⁶⁴⁸ Koroneia and Lebadeia had no close relationship with the respective Pamboiotia and Basileia, despite their locations. *Boiōtios* at Mouseia – see *IThesp* 161 and 163.

⁶⁴⁹ Rigsby states that the Amphiaraia had probably become Panhellenic by the early second century BC, while Sulla's request that surrounding land also be made *asylos* suggests that the shrine had already received such status, though the epigraphy otherwise shows no sign of asyilia before Sulla's visit – Rigsby, 1996, 77-78.

agonistic festivals, and not until a century and a half later - with growing prosperity and growing imperial encouragement - do we see signs of revival.⁶⁵⁰

Yet a close analysis of the Boiotian festivals reveals that Boiotia appears to have bucked this trend, undergoing something of an agonistic revival towards the end of the second century BC and another directly following the Mithridatic War.⁶⁵¹ A number of festivals continued unchanged at this time. We hear from Athens of one Telesias of Troizen, who was sent as *archetheōros* (a chief of the *theōroi*) to both the Theban Herakleia and Theban Agrionia (as the *Trieteris* for Dionysus Kadmeios now seems to have been called) in 140/139BC (*IG* II² 971).⁶⁵² The Mouseia equally continues after 146BC, although the dates of the four or five available victor lists from this period are not agreed upon.⁶⁵³ The range of events during this period follows previous form, while the clientele ranges a little more broadly than during the preceding century - the mostly local victors supplemented by victors from Athens, Argos, Macedonian Thessaloniki, Magnesia on the Meander, Antioch, and Pergamum – a distribution which Fossey still calls ‘thin’ when compared to the single text (*IG* VII 1760 [*IThesp* 172]) dated to shortly after the Mithridatic War.⁶⁵⁴ Yet even within this latter second-century BC period there may be a sign of expansion, if the upper dates of the inscriptions are any indication: thus the possibly earlier lists (*IThesp* 167, 169 and 170) reveal a more local clientele, some entirely Boiotian, while the later inscriptions (*IThesp* 171, 173) reveal a broader interest. That this expansion occurred as part of the more general upturn in Boiotian *agōnes* at the end of the second century BC is a distinct possibility.

Just as with the final third of the third century BC, the tail end of the second century BC saw something of a revival amongst the Boiotian *agōnes*, including the creation of an entirely new *agōn*, that of the Romaia at Thebes. Seeking an external stimulus to explain this upturn is

⁶⁵⁰ König, 2005, 28.

⁶⁵¹ An interesting parallel seems to be the Carian city of Iasos, which in a period of political (and seismic) disruption at the end of the third/start of the second century BC, underwent something of a revival in its Dionysia, at least as records the epigraphic records of contributions to the festival – see Crowther, 2007, 296-298. Perhaps in trying times festivals and games provided a bedrock of fixed tradition through which to seek expression, especially amongst the elite.

⁶⁵² See *SEG* 36.175. Elsewhere we learn of the events at the Herakleia – with a victory of a Cilician named Kallikles, son of Ariston, in a colt horse race (κέλητι πολικῶι), and a victorious Megarian boxer. Heberdey et al, 1896, 81, no. 17 – victory for Kallikles; *IG* VII 48 – boxer.

⁶⁵³ Fossey, 2014, 111-112 lists five: *IG* VII 1761 (*IThesp* 173); *BCH* 19 (1895) 335-338, n.10 and n.12 (*IThesp* 167 + 171); *BCH* 1897 586-569 n.3 = Feyel, 1942a, 118.11 (*IThesp* 169); *Polemon* 3 (1947) 73-79 (*IThesp* 170). Gossage places *IThesp* 170 ca.75BC - Gossage, 1975, 127; Roesch dates *IThesp* 173 to post-84BC - Roesch, 2007 (2009), 37.

⁶⁵⁴ Fossey, 2014, 111-112.

not easy. It is possible that Boiotia required some time to recover from the turbulence of the Roman victory and to adapt to life under Rome without the structure of the *koinon* in place. This upturn might then be seen as a return to the Hellenistic trend towards self-expression through religious games and festivals once a firmer footing had been found. I will discuss the particulars of this upturn below as regards the appearance of the Romaia at Thebes, the re-organization of the Ptoia, and the first evidence for the Delia at Tanagra and the Charitesia at Orchomenos.

4.4.1 A new festival at Thebes: The Romaia

The unearthing of the upper part of a limestone pedimental stele found near the west side of the Theban Kadmeia in 2003 resulted in the first inscriptional evidence for the previously undocumented festival of the Theban Romaia (Figure 22).⁶⁵⁵ The Romaia appears to have been established sometimes after 146BC and abolished by the time of the Mithridatic Wars.⁶⁵⁶ The incomplete stele begins with the following inscription (*SEG* 54.516):

[K]λεοκρίτου ἄρχοντος·
 ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τὰ Ῥωμαῖα
 Ἰσμηνίου τοῦ Ἰσμηνοκλέους,
 οἶδε ἐνίκων·
 σαλπικτῆς·
 Πολέμων Πολεμάρχου Δελφός·
 κῆρυξ·
 Νικίας Ἀγαθοκλέους Θηβαῖος·
 ποιητῆς ἐπῶν·
 Κλεώνδας Πυθέου Θηβαῖος·
 ῥαψωιδός·
 Ἄβρων Φιλοξένου Θηβαῖο[ς]·
 αὐλητῆς·
 Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀμφικλέους Θηβαῖο[ς]·

⁶⁵⁵ *SEG* 54.516. For a detailed assessment see Knoepfler, 2004, 1241-1279. See also *SEG* 54. 517.

⁶⁵⁶ But not before ca.140BC - see Knoepfler, 2004, 1265-1272, 1278.

καθαριστής·
 Μελίτων Αριστοβούλου Θηβα[ῖος]·
 κιθαρωιδός·
 Ἀθηναγόρας Δημητρίου Θηβαῖ[ος]·
 ποιητῆς σατύρων·
 [. . .] κληῖς [Α]θ[ηνο(?)]δώρου Θηβαῖος·
 [— — — — —]

In the archonship of Kleokritos, when Ismenios son of Ismenokles was *agōnothetēs* of the Romaia, these were the victors: Trumpeter – Polemon son of Polemarchos, of Delphi; herald, Nikias son of Agathokles, of Thebes; epic poet – Kleondas son of Pytheos, of Thebes; rhapsode – Habron, son of Philoxenos, of Thebes; aulete – Aristokles son of Amphikles of Thebes; kitharist – Meliton son of Aristoboulos of Thebes; Kitharode – Athenagoras son of Demetrios of Thebes; satyr poet – [...]kles son of Athenodoros of Thebes...

With only the top portion of the stele remaining, it is unclear if athletic competition formed part of the Romaia, or if the events listed above reflect a programme more akin to the Mouseia, Ptoia, and Theban Agrionia.⁶⁵⁷ What is interesting is that save for the trumpeter all the listed victors at the Romaia were Theban, and it is possible that these represent members of the Guild of Dionysian *Technitai* of the Isthmus and Nemea, who we know had been associated with the Mouseia, Ptoia, and Theban *Trieteris* of Dionysus Kadmeios (Agrionia), and of whom a subsidiary branch still existed in Thebes in 146BC.⁶⁵⁸

As I argued in the previous chapter, the presence in Thebes of this important Guild doubtless played a pivotal role in establishing Boiotia and Thebes as something of an agonistic cultural and artistic hub during the third century BC, and it seems as if this relationship continued into the early years of the Roman occupation. Thebes had played host to a branch of the *Technitai* since the third century BC, and after the destruction of Corinth in 146BC had almost by default become the administrative centre of the Guild, at the very least sharing this

⁶⁵⁷ As a possible athletic competition – see Knoepfler, 2004, 1273-1275.

⁶⁵⁸ Knoepfler, 2004, 1271. For *Technitai*, see *SEG* 32.438; Le Guen, 2001, nos. 27-29; see also *IG VII* 2484-2485.

role with Argos.⁶⁵⁹ A letter from Lucius Mummius to the *Technitai* from Ionia and the Hellespont at Thebes (and arguably also to those of Isthmia and Nemea) can be dated to this time.⁶⁶⁰ With this letter, which guaranteed the *Technitai* certain privileges which they had approached Mummius to confirm, Mummius implicitly recognised Thebes' right to remain one of the most important centres of musical and religious activity in Roman Greece.⁶⁶¹ This in itself may have been an important factor in the agonistic revival witnessed in Boiotia at this time against the prevailing pattern elsewhere.

Boiotia as an artistic centre is an interesting proposition, given the popular caricature of the Boiotians – even during the Roman period – as unfeeling, ignorant swine.⁶⁶² Yet Thebes had enjoyed a reputation as a centre of excellence in the playing of the aulos since the mid-fifth century BC. Dio Chrysostom records that the first statue restored by the Thebans following their return after the destruction by Alexander was one of Hermes which sported the inscription 'Greece judges Thebes to be victors with the aulos' (Ἑλλάς μὲν Θήβας νικᾶν προέκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς).⁶⁶³ Typically, the Athenians managed to turn this excellence against them: according to Plutarch, Alcibiades had famously rejected the playing of the aulos – as taught him by his Theban teacher Pronomos – as it rendered articulate speech impossible and was therefore best left to the sons of Thebes 'for they know no learned conversation' (οὐ γὰρ ἴσασι διαλέγεσθαι).⁶⁶⁴ It is possible that the denigration of the art of aulos playing at Athens – and the story of Athena's rejection of it – was a direct result of the Thebans' championing of it, and it has been suggested may have followed swiftly from the defeat of the Athenians at Theban hands at Koroneia in 447BC.⁶⁶⁵ Yet the fact that Alcibiades, whose father had been killed at Koroneia, was still being taught the instrument ought to speak against such a speedy and all-

⁶⁵⁹ Knoepfler, 2004, 1272.

⁶⁶⁰ Letter - *IG* VII 2413 and *IG* VII 2414. See Knoepfler, 2004, 1271 and *SEG* 32.491.

⁶⁶¹ Knoepfler, 2004, 1272.

⁶⁶² See for example later attestations of Boiotian stupidity by Cicero (*de fato* 7); Horace (*Ep.* 2.1.244); Tertullian (*de Anima* 20); and Cornelius Nepos (*Alcib.* 11; *Epam.* 5).

⁶⁶³ Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 7.121. Wilson has suggested this epigram be linked to the famous aulist Pronomos, whose statue on the Kadmeia revealed the centrality of this piper and his craft to Boiotian identity – Wilson, 2007, 141 and 144.

⁶⁶⁴ Plut. *Alcibiades* 2.5. Pronomos as teacher – see Athen. *Deipn.* 184D. On the reputation of Thebes with the aulos see Roesch, 1989, 203–214; Wilson, 2007, 141. On Athens' philosophical relationship to the aulos see Wilson, 1999, 58–95. Wilson speaks also of the Athenian habit of side-lining the mainly foreign musicians at their dramatic festivals – Wilson, 2007, 142.

⁶⁶⁵ Demand, 1982, 89. See Arist. *Pol.* 1341a 27–35. Wallace has suggested the defeat of Athens at Koroneia in 446BC as a possible motive in the Athenian rejection of an instrument closely associated with Thebes – Wallace, 2003, 89. In Athens the aulos became mostly the preserve of foreigners and slaves – *ibid.* 88.

encompassing denigration of the instrument.⁶⁶⁶ The understandably pro-Theban Pindar, during the earlier part of the century, knew a more favourable version of the myth of the invention of the aulos, with Athena creating the instrument for mankind, and it is clear that aulos playing in Thebes was a matter of intense prestige.⁶⁶⁷ It ought to be assumed, therefore, that the presence of the *Technitai* at Thebes merely bolstered an already present artistic self-belief; a belief which may have assumed a new importance as a carrier of Boiotian prestige at a time when Boiotia's political and military capabilities were dwindling. As will be seen in the next chapter, following the Mithridatic Wars ca.87/86BC another agonistic revival occurred precisely in those *agōnes* of musical and dramatic bent and manifestly through the auspices of Roman intervention. It could be argued that the foundations for this Roman cultural interest in Boiotia – in the Roman view, even, of Thebes as an artistic centre – were laid down during this earlier period, in which the presence in Thebes of the *Technitai* of Dionysus played a pivotal role.⁶⁶⁸

The Boiotian, and specifically Theban, claims for the aulos remind us that *internal* prestige could be found in areas rejected externally by others. Much of the rejection of the aulos was based on ideas of intellect, with its curtailing of reasoned speech, while the difficulty and complexity of aulos playing noted by Theophrastus (*Hist.* P1. 4.11.4-5) and later by Lucian (*Harmonid.* 1) meant that mastering the skills to play the aulos put one at risk of becoming *banausos* – a mere ‘mechanic’.⁶⁶⁹ Another agonistic art, that of the rhapsode, also seems to have fallen from favour throughout the Greek world at this time, only to be championed by the Boiotians. Whether the presence of the Guild of *Technitai* has any bearing on this specialization is unclear, but as West has shown, during this period (and a second period which followed a two-hundred-year hiatus) rhapsodic competition was dominated by Boiotia, with later competitions for rhapsodes found *only* in Boiotia.⁶⁷⁰ Certainly in viewing the later revival, it is probable that given their second/first-century BC dominance, Boiotia felt that they had a strong

⁶⁶⁶ Gartland, personal communication; death of father at Koroneia – Plut. *Alcib.* 1. On the professionalization of the aulos and its demand abroad see Wilson, 2007, 146 and n.25, and 147. See also Rogers, 1994, 101-106 on the mobility of Boiotian flute-players and the honouring of the Boiotian flute-player Gorgion ca.301-281BC in Ephesos.

⁶⁶⁷ Pindar *Pyth.* 12.

⁶⁶⁸ A role begun in the third century BC – see Chapter Three.

⁶⁶⁹ Wallace, 2003, 89-90. *Banausos* – see Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 1340b20-1341b18.

⁶⁷⁰ West, 2013, 364. Like flute-playing, it might be possible that the art of the rhapsode was denigrated elsewhere as lacking creativity. But the Boiotians seem to have consciously excelled, and the event with its epic links must have been a source of prestige.

heritage of rhapsodic competition; that they felt this skill was characteristically theirs.⁶⁷¹ Even so, the dynamics of the growing Boiotian monopoly is hard to explain. One wonders whether the art of the rhapsode had by this time been separated from any notion of originality and creativity; whether the art, like that of the aulos, may have been rejected as little more than *banausos* outside of Boiotia.⁶⁷² Nevertheless, it remained an important source of Boiotian prestige.

Returning to the Romaia, another victory list (*IG* VII 2448) dated no later than 100BC and previously linked to the Theban Agrionia by Schachter, has now been identified by Knoepfler as belonging to the Romaia.⁶⁷³ It shows the exact same sequence of events as the first inscription (*SEG* 54.516) - if one restores κῑθαριστής (l.11) in the place of αὐλωιδός – and once again all of the artists are Thebans, save for the victorious trumpeter, Asklepiades son of Theophrastos from Aigina, father of the Theophrastos Asklepiades, winner in the same discipline at the Amphiaraia of Oropos (*IG* VII 419 = *IOropos* 526) and the Charitesia of Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3196; ca.80BC).⁶⁷⁴ Another possible Theban, the would-be kitharist Philippos, whose patronymic is lost (l.12), may be the Philippos son of Herodes, an envoy of the Dionysian *Technitai* of Isthmia and Nemea to Rome in 112BC.⁶⁷⁵

While the presence of the *Technitai* might explain the form of the games, the reason for their creation – and epithet Romaia – remains unclear. Knoepfler has suggested that the letter of Mummius extending the rights of the *Technitai* may have been encouragement enough to develop the new contest of the Romaia, with Thebes making use of its resident *Technitai* when they were not engaged in other competitions.⁶⁷⁶ But there is no evidence that the *Technitai* played any role in the organization of the games as they did at the Agrionia and Mouseia, or

⁶⁷¹ West notes Hesiod's winning the tripod at the funeral games of Amphidamas of Chalkis, which he had then dedicated to the Helikonian Muses who had first inspired him (*Op.* 654-659) - West, 2013, 347. Whether this performance of one's own work counts as rhapsody is not clear, but presumably it is the tradition of winning at poetic performance which West is highlighting. West suggests that the development from the performance of an αὐλωιδός to the competition of ῥαψωιδός was a relatively smooth one - West, 2013, 347-350.

⁶⁷² Exactly what it was that the rhapsodes had been reciting from the fourth century BC is unclear, but West has suggested that the close proximity in inscriptions between the rhapsodes and ποιητής ἐπῶν – epic poets – may suggest that in some instances the rhapsode was performing the newly composed poetry - West, 2013, 359. In *IThesp* 163 (*IG* VII 1762) for example we read of the victories at the Mouseia of the epic poet Heliodoros son of Heliodoros, and the rhapsode Zenodotos son of Sopatros, both from Antioch on the Pyramus, whom West suggests travelled in partnership together to Thespias - West, 2013, 361.

⁶⁷³ Agrionia - Schachter, 1981, 191; Romaia - Knoepfler, 2004, 1262-1264 and 1277. See also *SEG* 54.517.

⁶⁷⁴ Knoepfler, 2004, 1263-1264.

⁶⁷⁵ *FD* III 2.70 (l.31). *SEG* 54.517. See Knoepfler, 2004, 1264. These hints at a local Boiotian agonistic circuit will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

⁶⁷⁶ Knoepfler, 2004, 1272.

that the name represented their own particular gratitude to Rome.⁶⁷⁷ As I will discuss in the next chapter, later epithets linked to Rome were rarely a reaction to specific events. Exceptions are the renaming of the Amphiaraia at Oropos as the ‘Amphiaraia and Romaia’, an act which seems to have been connected with certain clement acts on Sulla’s behalf during and after the Mithridatic War, and possibly the ‘Erotideia and Romaia’ at Thespiai, whose inauguration is linked by Knoepfler to the recovery by Sulla of Praxiteles’ statue of Eros.⁶⁷⁸ In this earlier period, in the wider Greek world a Romaia was recorded at the Athenian colony of Delos from 167/166BC, and another at Athens from 149BC, and their foundation may be linked to the territorial and economic benefits the Athenians had accrued following the Roman defeat of Perseus in 167BC.⁶⁷⁹

The presence of the *Technitai* and the privileges granted by Mummius may have played a role in the creation of the Romaia, but one cannot help looking for an additional motivation. The dating of the games may suggest an alternative – albeit negative – motive. As Knoepfler has stated, the date of the victory lists, ca.125-120BC, merely provides a *terminus ante quem* for the games’ inauguration, while the absence of any designation of the games as being the ‘first’ probably points to an earlier date of creation, though arguably not before 140BC.⁶⁸⁰ While Polybius provides a number of instances of Theban gratitude towards the Romans (usually following a period of wavering) there seems to have been no material benefits conferred on Thebes at these times, and Knoepfler prefers the negative impetus of the destruction of Haliartos, serving as a fearful reminder to the Thebans who had themselves so recently supported Achaia against Rome.⁶⁸¹ Pausanias tells us how close they had come to expected destruction; how the Thebans had abandoned the city with their women and children, taking refuge in the mountains, whereupon the proconsul of Macedonia, Quintus Caecilius Metellus allowed them to return, seeking only the execution of the anti-Roman ringleader

⁶⁷⁷ There is no mention, for example, of the priests of the *Technitai*. For organization of Agrionia see for example *IG* VII 2447; for Mouseia see *FD* III 1.351 and *SEG* 31.539.

⁶⁷⁸ Knoepfler, 2004, 1264.

⁶⁷⁹ Knoepfler, 2004, 1265. Other Romaia are attested, for example in a victory list of the runner Sokrates son of Apollonius of Epidauros, who records victories in the Pythaeia and Romaia at Megara, the Dia and Aiantia Romaia at Oropos, and the Poseideia and Romaia in Antigoneia (*IG* IV² 1.629) dated first half of the second century BC by Mellor, 1975, 105 and second half by Jost, 1985, 531. What specific meaning these epithets might have held at these places is unclear. But as Knoepfler notes, the addition of Romaia to games became almost obligatory as time progressed - see Knoepfler, 2004, 1270.

⁶⁸⁰ Knoepfler, 2004, 1265.

⁶⁸¹ Polybius 27.1.10-11 Thebes sends to Q. Marcius Philippus in Chalkis to ask forgiveness following their alliance with Perseus; Polybius 28.3 – 170BC Thebans commended for dedication to Roman cause; Pausanias 7.14.6 – for Thebans enthusiastic support of Achaia against Rome; Knoepfler, 2004, 1268-1269.

Pytheas.⁶⁸² It was perhaps the heady combination of relief and gratitude that inspired the Thebans to institute these games.

No other known victory lists exist for the Romaia, which seems to have been short-lived, a result perhaps of the circumstances of its creation, being inaugurated neither out of religious fervour, nor to celebrate a great Boiotian victory as had, say, the Basileia and arguably the Herakleia.⁶⁸³ It never seems to have become pan-Hellenic, and part of this stunted growth may be attributed to a dispute which occurred at this time between the Peloponnesian and the Athenian associations of the Dionysiac *Technitai* (ca.128-112BC) which seems to have resulted in a schism of the Isthmian *Technitai* within Thebes in 118BC.⁶⁸⁴ Knoepfler has suggested that the almost exclusive presence of Thebans among the victors may be the result of this conflict (something otherwise unprecedented for Boiotian *agōnes* of the period) perhaps through a prevention of those not part of the factional group attending; perhaps through the voluntary abstention of those in dispute.⁶⁸⁵ If the games did survive until the Mithridatic War, it is highly doubtful that Thebes, humiliated by Rome once again - this time in its opposition to Sulla – would have been keen to resume the celebration of a games celebrating Roman magnanimity.⁶⁸⁶

4.4.2 The Re-organization of the Ptoia ca.120-110BC

In the previous chapter I discussed the re-organization of the Ptoia at Akraiphia ca.230-225BC. About a century later the Ptoia was again re-organized, this time as a *pentaeteric* festival, as is witnessed by seven decrees of acceptance of this change dating to ca.120-110BC which were set up in the sanctuary of Apollo at Perdikovrysi.⁶⁸⁷ Two of the accepting *poleis* - Orchomenos (*IG* VII 4138) and Thisbe (*BCH* 44 [1920] 247.9 and *IG* VII 4139) - are known; five remain unidentified.⁶⁸⁸ There is no denying the continuing pan-Boiotian scope of the *agōn*.

⁶⁸² Pausanias 7.15.9; see also Polybius 38.16.10.

⁶⁸³ Knoepfler, 2004, 1275.

⁶⁸⁴ *FD* III 2.70 ll.50/51 - οἱ ἐν Θήβαις τεχνῖται καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἀποστά[ται] γεγενημένοι – the *Technitai* in Thebes and certain of those who defected in Boiotia See *SEG* 54.516.

⁶⁸⁵ Knoepfler, 2004, 1277.

⁶⁸⁶ Games which Knoepfler suggests the Thebans may at that time have viewed as a luxury as expensive as they were useless - Knoepfler, 2004, 1278.

⁶⁸⁷ Müller, 2014, 131 – see Feyel, 1936, 27.

⁶⁸⁸ *BCH* 44 [1920] 249.9; *IG* VII 4140,4141,4142, 4144. See Roesch, 1982, 230. *IG* VII 4138 from Orchomenos mentions the *agōn* as *stephanitēs* at this time.

The dating is based in part on prosopography: the *theorodokos* (receiver of the *theoroi*, or sacred ambassadors) of the Thisbean decree is one Brochas son of Kapon, who Müller surmises must be the son of Kapon son of Brochas whom she dates to ca.160-150BC, both members of a well-documented prominent Thisbean family.⁶⁸⁹ The important religious role played by a small number of prominent families within Boiotia is something which will become more apparent during the following centuries.⁶⁹⁰

Müller has recently suggested that the language of these decrees suggests a conscious echo of the *koinon*; that in the absence of federal framework the Akraiphians tried to reactivate the cherished collective identity through the organizing of a major pan-Boiotian agonistic festival for which the model had been the Ptoia of the third century BC.⁶⁹¹ For example, in the acceptance decree of the *polis* of Thisbe (*IG VII 4139*) we hear that Akraiphia explicitly sought through its ambassadors ‘to renew friendship and kinship (*syngeneia*) that exists between the cities, the one towards the other’ (τε φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ταῖς πόλεσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλας - II.2-4). Here the use of the word *syngeneia*, so Müller states, would clearly have recalled the federal organization to its readers.⁶⁹² Equally the Akraiphians sought to offer ‘common sacrifices as before’ (συνθύειν καθὼς καὶ πρότερον - I.22). This ‘as before’ is telling. Here, it seems, at the end of the second century BC, the Akraiphians were seeking to establish a renewed collective identity through the celebration of a religious festival, one that had been central to the *koinon* of the Hellenistic period. Thus, although the *koinon per se* did not reappear until the late first century BC, Boiotian identity and the memory of the previous framework of the Boiotian community was maintained precisely through these common festivals and games such as the Ptoia, albeit with interruptions imposed by war.⁶⁹³ Here at Akraiphia (and as will be seen below, at Tanagra), Boiotian elites undertook the renewal of a pan-Boiotian agonistic festival based on a common kinship - *syngeneia* - of cities, the Boiotian *ethnos* thereby affirming its common identity even in the absence of a formal constitutional framework.⁶⁹⁴ It

⁶⁸⁹ Müller, 2014, 131; 2007, 37-38. Presumably this older Kapon is the son of Brochas son of Kapon, the archon named in a victory list from Chaironeia for the Basileia and dating to before 171BC (*SEG* 3.368), himself the son of another Kapon son of Brochas honoured in a decree (*IG VII 2383*, *SEG* 22.410) dated to 170-160BC by Müller, pre-171BC by Knoepfler, and either by Mackil, 2013, 448 n.33. He is honoured for his various actions surrounding a grain shortage in Boiotia ca.175BC.

⁶⁹⁰ See especially the role of prominent Akraiphians in Chapters Five and Six.

⁶⁹¹ Müller, 2014, 132.

⁶⁹² Müller, 2014, 132.

⁶⁹³ Müller, 2014, 122 and 130. The dating of the re-establishment is argued at some length based on epigraphical sources

⁶⁹⁴ Müller, 2014, 136.

was just such continued religious interaction, so Müller argues, that allowed the *koinon* to regenerate just before the imperial era, in a similar manner to the way, as I argued in the first chapter, that networks of religious interaction lay behind the creation of the *koinon* in the first instance.⁶⁹⁵

Clearly, as the revival of the Ptoia with its pan-Boiotian structure demonstrates, being ‘Boiotian’ remained a source of prestige for the wealthy elites of the Boiotian *poleis*, retaining pride of place as the peak of aristocratic prestige.⁶⁹⁶ In the absence of a politically active *koinon*, with the apparent temporary disappearance of the *koinon*-run Pamboiotia and Basileia, prominent individuals and families in the Boiotian *poleis* were nevertheless keen to express a common Boiotian identity and link themselves to the glories of the Boiotian past. Self-promotion of the individual within the community, and of the community within Boiotia as a whole, was once again expressed through the medium of the recreation of prestigious festivals and games.

4.4.3 The Delia at Tanagra

In 1992 a limestone stele was discovered in the town of Dilesi (ancient Delion) in east Boiotia with the first details of the accounts of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delion in the territory of the city of Tanagra. The front of the stone included the accounts of an *agōnothetēs* Damon son of Ariston of Orchomenos for the pan-Boiotian Delia, the athletic and artistic contests held in honour of Apollo of Delion, along with the names of various cities involved in the funding, regulations, organizations, rituals and sacrifices, the inscription dating from the last decades of the second century BC.⁶⁹⁷

As I mentioned in Chapter Two, while Diodorus links the inauguration of the Tanagran Delia with the victory of the Boiotians over the Athenians at Delion in 424BC, our first concrete

⁶⁹⁵ Müller, 2014, 122.

⁶⁹⁶ And hence occupying that position on the vertical dimension which Van Nijf and Williamson, 2015, 108 have argued was held by Rome in the coming centuries. This vertical dimension, I would argue, was present from the beginning and represented not just a peak of prestige and ambition, but also of identity. Thus, the elites wished to be seen as ‘Boiotian’ from at least the time of Pindar, while as will be seen below, the linking of games with imperial cult during the Roman period reveals a further shift in Boiotian identity towards the Roman.

⁶⁹⁷ Brelaz *et al.*, 2007, 235. See also *SEG* 57.452. Role of *agōnothetēs* see König, 2005, 28.

evidence may come from the end of the fourth century BC, although even this is uncertain. Given the pan-Boiotian nature of the festival, however, an inauguration from any time at the end of the fifth century BC is a possibility. The only inscriptional evidence for a Delia during the fourth century BC is found in an Athenian decree (*IG* II² 2971) from late in the century honouring Demetrios of Phaleron, the Athenian statesman appointed to govern Athens by Kassandros, and which lists four victories, including one at the Delia. It is unclear if this particular *agōn* is not, however, to be located on Delos.⁶⁹⁸

The lack of mention of a federal archon dates the Dilesi inscription as post-171BC, perhaps as late as the final decades of the second century BC around the same time as the re-appearance of the Ptoia noted above.⁶⁹⁹ The organization of the Delia followed similar pan-Boiotian lines, although with obvious differences. Compared to the locally-run Ptoia, we note that the *agōnothetēs* of the Delia was an Orchomenian rather than a local Tanagran, suggesting a higher level of organization than that of the *polis*.⁷⁰⁰ The pan-Boiotian nature of the rite is equally emphasised by the active participation of other Boiotian *poleis* in the organization and running of the games, with money guaranteed from these Boiotian cities.⁷⁰¹ Equally, decisions made by the cities concerning the buying of weapons for the competition (Il.26-27) reveal to Müller the quasi-*koinon* nature of the organization here:⁷⁰²

... Μύρτωνι καὶ Θηραμένει ἐφόδιον εἰ[ς]
[Θήβα]ς ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὅπλων ἀγορασμὸν καθὼς ἔδοξε ταῖς πόλε-
[σι] ...

...Myrton and Theramenes [from Tanagra] to journey to Thebes for the purchase of weapons just as decreed by the cities ...⁷⁰³

In a similar manner we hear of the election of the next *agōnothetēs*, one Asopichos, as ‘designated by the cities’ (αἰρ]εθέντι ἀγωνοθέτῃ Ἀσωπίχῳ Εὐέτου - Face A l.31) - the verb

⁶⁹⁸ Schachter associates with Delos - Schachter, 1981, 47 n.2, as does Nilsson, 1906, 354; Brelaz *et al.* are uncertain - 2007, 285, n.138.

⁶⁹⁹ Brelaz *et al.*, 2007, 278. The archon mentioned here, following the pattern of these times, is that of the home *polis* of the *agōnothetēs* – in this example Orchomenos. This practice is seen in later inscriptions for the Pamboiotia and Basileia – see Müller, 2014, 132.

⁷⁰⁰ Brelaz *et al.*, 2007, 281.

⁷⁰¹ Brelaz *et al.*, 2007, 282.

⁷⁰² Müller, 2014, 132.

⁷⁰³ On the system for recording money in this document see Brelaz *et al.*, 2007, 302-303.

αἰρεθέντι ‘chosen’ suggesting to Brelaz *et al.* an election from within the members of the nascent *koinon*, something Müller categorizes as an embryonic *synedrion*.⁷⁰⁴ With a lack of any evidence from inscriptions at this time of the college of *naopoioi* (whose appearance at the end of the first century BC seems to signal the return of the formal *koinon*) - it is unlikely that we are dealing with an independent body *per se*, but rather an association linked to - and meeting at - each separate festival. Several mentions of the Archon at Tanagra, Theocharis, throughout the inscription points to an important role for Tanagra in the games’ organization, like that of Akraiphia for the Ptoia, although the evidence of non-Tanagran *agōnothetai* suggests a wider scope than the Ptoia.⁷⁰⁵ Such variations no doubt reveal the *ad hoc* nature of the organization of each individual festival in the absence of a centralized system.

As for events, no victory list exists for the Delia, so our information must be gleaned from within the text of Damon’s *apologia*. To begin with, a wide array of events should be imagined from the thirty eight gold crowns mentioned in lines 11-14, allowing the possibility of a list of events as diverse as those at the Basileia, i.e. athletic and hippic.⁷⁰⁶ Pride of place seems to have gone to the hoplite race in full armour, for which a large shield made of over 6kg of silver seems to have been the prize.⁷⁰⁷ The title of the victorious athlete ‘best hoplite’ (τοῦ ὅπλου τοῦ ἀριστείου – face A l.14) is reminiscent of the ‘best of the Hellenes’ (ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων), the title earned by the equivalent victor at the Eleutheria at Plataia; while the prize itself is suggestive of the famous shields presented for victories at Argos.⁷⁰⁸ It was possibly for the purchase of the arms carried in the race for which the Tanagrans Myrton and Theramenes were dispatched to Thebes (face A ll.26-27). It is possible that there were also musical contests. We hear for example of the provision ‘for the sacrifice on the presentation of the *Technitai*, and athletes, and the *theoroi*, eight drachmas of bronze’ (θύματος εἰς τὸν ἐξορκισμόν τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἀθλητῶν καὶ θεωρῶν χαλκοῦ H- ll.7-9). Are these *Technitai* evidence of musical events? As Knoepfler emphasises, every *agōn* no doubt began with the exclamation of a herald and probably a trumpeter as well, so the presence of such *Technitai* need not point to musical

⁷⁰⁴ Brelaz *et al.*, 2007, 282; Müller, 2014, 133 – text as restored by Knoepfler *BE* 2010, 748 no.311.

⁷⁰⁵ i.e. Face A l.2 and 22; face C l.1 - Brelaz *et al.*, 2007, 284.

⁷⁰⁶ Brelaz, *et al.*, 2007, 292.

⁷⁰⁷ Brelaz, *et al.*, 2007, 293.

⁷⁰⁸ Brelaz *et al.* 2007, 293; for shield of Argos see Amandry, 1983, 627-634. For best of the Hellenes, see for example *IG* V 1.305, among many others.

contests *per se*.⁷⁰⁹ If true, then the athletic bias of the event – especially as concerns the hoplite race – would be consistent with those other Boiotian games which celebrated military victories, and stands in direct contrast both to the Romaia and the Ptoia (with their stronger link to the *Technitai*), and to those other events of this period.⁷¹⁰ With the disappearance of the Basileia and Pamboiotia, the continued celebration of this particular pan-Boiotian festival (reliant, no doubt, on the strong role of Tanagra in the running of the games) speaks of the ongoing importance of the Boiotian elite in maintaining a link with Boiotia's prestigious military past, especially during this period of military impotence.

4.4.4 The Charitesia at Orchomenos

The re-organization of the Ptoia at the end of the second century BC along with the celebration of the pan-Boiotian Delia suggests an accommodation to external circumstances, and perhaps something of an upturn. This may also be reflected in the possible inauguration of the Charitesia at Orchomenos at this time. The dating of this foundation to the late second/early first century BC rests upon a single inscription (*IG II² 3160*), the victory list of a boy runner from Athens.⁷¹¹ Here, beneath a carved crown, we read of his victory in the Charitesia at Orchomenos (Χαριτήσια [τὰ] ἐν Ὀρ[χομ]ενῶ). The study of this inscription by L. Robert revealed that at the time of victory the games were *stephanitēs* as were all the other victories won by the anonymous athlete; while the style of the monument suggested a date somewhere around the end of the second BC or the beginning of the first century BC.⁷¹² Although the later Charitesia seems to have been devoid of athletic competition, Knoepfler has suggested its second-century BC counterpart was of mixed character.⁷¹³ The Boiotian *koinon* was dedicating

⁷⁰⁹ Knoepfler, 2010, 751. Knoepfler has suggested the Delia as the most probable *agon* referred to in the dedication of an unknown – presumably Athenian – herald at Delos (*IDelos* 2552 ll.18-19) Knoepfler, 2010, 751. The name of the herald might be reconstructed as [Zen]obios. Manieri attributes this victory to the Tanagran Sarapieia - Manieri, 2009, 156.

⁷¹⁰ Although it must be recalled that thymelic events seem to have been added to the programme of the Basileia during the third century BC – see for example the second-century (pre-171BC) *SEG* 3.368.

⁷¹¹ On inscription see Merritt, 1946, 222-225 51d, and J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1946/47 80 (see *Arch. Eph.* 1969, 47 = *OMS* VII 753).

⁷¹² J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1946/47 80 – see also Knoepfler, 2008a, 626. Despite Bergmans' dating of the inscription to the imperial period, her conclusion that it reveals the first concrete evidence for the character of the Charitesia/Homoloia as sacred Crown Games stands, as does her suggestion that the crown represented on earlier Orchomenian coins is a symbol of the 'sacredness' of these games at such a time - Bergmans, 1982, 16-19.

⁷¹³ Knoepfler, 2004, 1274 and 2008a, 626.

tripods to the Charites in the late third century BC (*IG* VII 3207), but no evidence of the *agōn* appears until the above inscription, although its status as *stephanitēs* suggests a longer history. As such, the inscription may attest to a continuation rather than a creation, which nevertheless reflects the healthy state of Boiotian games at the end of this first period under Rome.

4.5 Summary

During a period in which literary sources lack acceptable detail regarding the Boiotian response to Roman occupation, the vicissitudes of the Boiotian *agōnes* provides a unique window through which to view the Boiotian reaction to these externally imposed events.

While the freedom of the Greeks to ‘fight and make peace with one another whenever they so wanted’ had, as Agelaos of Naupaktos feared, been curtailed (and were to be reduced further in the coming century), the festivals which Plutarch suggests had taken its place gradually began to thrive, particularly within Boiotia; signs of a growing accommodation and active adaptation to the changed circumstances. Throughout the second century evidence exists for a continuation of the Herakleia and Agrionia at Thebes, the Amphiaraia at Oropos, the Eleutheria at Plataia, and a gradual increase in the Mouseia at Thespiiai. New *agōnes* are also attested with a direct link to the coming of Rome. The Soteria at Akraiphia may be linked to the clemency of Publius Cornelius Lucius Lentulus ca.171BC, while the Romaia at Thebes ca.146BC may point to an awareness of the fact that the *polis* had got off lightly following a brief period of opposition to Rome. Both examples reveal the political importance for the elites to forge a strong and positive relationship with their new overseers. Such a move ought not to be explained as sycophancy, but rather as an active engagement with present realities; a consciousness of the benefits for the individuals no doubt, but also the *poleis* they represented in forging a positive relationship to the power of Rome.⁷¹⁴ During this century we begin to witness the actions of prominent families dominating local *polis* and wider Boiotian religious affairs, such as the Thisbean family of Brochas son of Kapon (*IG* VII 4139); families whose links to Rome were to become more evident in the coming centuries, and whose willingness to forge a new Boiotian identity alongside Rome doubtless played a role in the integration of

⁷¹⁴ The interactions of the *Technitai* with Rome (see for example *FD* III 2.70) ought not to be considered unimportant.

Roman cult, of the various Romaías, and the Roman epithets which during the first century BC would become almost *de rigueur* for the games of the Hellenic world. As Price has argued, the scepticism with which such acts have often been judged, as the acts of an elite wishing to flatter Rome, with no popular resonance or local importance, is far from the truth of what were often festivals of considerable local civic pride.⁷¹⁵ That the Greeks attached these Roman epithets to their most important festivals ought to suggest that such acts were not taken lightly.

The continuation of a number of Boiotian *agōnes*, the inauguration of the Soteria and Romaia, the re-organization of the Ptoia, and the evidence of a flourishing pan-Boiotian Delia, together suggest a picture of healthy agonistic expression throughout the second century BC, with the upturn during the last third of the century testament to the accommodation and renewed confidence as Boiotia found its feet under Rome. Each of these *agōnes* reveal different patterns of organization, different reasons for their new creation, re-organization, or continuation, and different modes of celebration. They also reveal evidence of the choices and needs of individual *poleis* rather than anything more central - something which can be traced to the absence of the formal Boiotian *koinon*, dissolved in 171BC. Yet that being ‘Boiotian’ remained an important *locus* of elite self-expression (perhaps the height of ambition at this time) can be witnessed in the renewed Ptoia and the pan-Boiotian Delia, whose organization in many ways maintained a collective Boiotian religious identity and community at a time when the political *koinon* – and with it the specifically Boiotian festivals of the Basileia and Pamboiotia - had ceased to exist. As Müller has argued, it was through such religious interactions that the shape of the political *koinon*, and perhaps the idea of a unified Boiotia itself, was maintained under Rome. In the absence of the *koinon*, the integral role of the wealthy elites in fostering both local and regional identity comes more strongly to the fore, a pattern which was to become even clearer in the following centuries. In this way, through the recreation of traditional festivals, arguably on the part of a number of prominent families, a new quasi-political Boiotian identity was forged in which the glories of the Boiotian past engaged head on the realities of a world under Rome.

⁷¹⁵ Price, 1996, 101; Price gives as a negative example Bayet, 1957, 190-191.

Chapter Five: The First Century BC (100-1BC)

Sulla and the Mithridatic War and the Return of the *Koinon*

5.1 Introduction

In the decade of the 80sBC Boiotia once again assumed the role of ‘dancing-floor of Ares’, becoming the battleground between the Romans and the troops of Mithridates VI of Pontus in what is now termed the First Mithridatic War.⁷¹⁶ In this present chapter I wish to examine the effects of this conflict on the agonistic expression of first-century BC Boiotia, tracing the brief agonistic flowering which followed the war, and the subsequent decline which began mid-first century BC.

What role the Boiotian *poleis* played during the First Mithridatic War is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty. The major sources for the conflict (Plutarch and Appian) lack detail as regards Boiotia, and the underlying political reality was no doubt more complex than the picture we have received.⁷¹⁷ We know, however, that many of the Boiotian cities initially went over to Mithridates’ side under the coercion of his General Archelaos, as Appian informs us (12.29):

Ἀρχελάῳ δ’ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Λάκωνες προσετίθεντο, καὶ Βοιωτία πᾶσα χωρὶς γε Θεσπιέων,
οὓς περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.

And the Achaians and Lakonians were brought over to Archelaos, and all Boiotia except Thespiiai, to which he laid close siege.

It was only the actions of the *legatus pro quaestore* Bruttius Sura, sent by the Governor of Macedonia, Sentius, which saved a deeper penetration of Archelaos into Boiotia.⁷¹⁸ On the arrival of Sulla in Greece in 86BC, so Plutarch informs us, all the cities of Greece, save Athens,

⁷¹⁶ The Second (83-81BC) and Third (75-63BC) Mithridatic Wars did not concern Boiotia. As such I will refer to the Mithridatic Wars (plural) when dealing with the whole conflict, and War (singular) when speaking of the First Mithridatic War in Boiotia itself.

⁷¹⁷ Santangelo, 2007, 45.

⁷¹⁸ Plut. *Sulla* 11.5; Appian *Mith.* 29.114; see Santangelo, 2007, 35. The term *legatus pro quaestore* refers to the bestowal of quaestorial duties by Sentius onto Sura.

returned their allegiance to Rome.⁷¹⁹ Thebes was quick to show loyalty to Sulla as he entered Boiotia, which only serves to emphasize - along with Sulla's later treatment of the city – that the *polis* had previously abandoned the Roman cause like most of the other Boiotians (Appian 12.30):⁷²⁰

παροδεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτία τε ἄθρόως μετεχώρει, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ μέγα ἄστυ αἱ Θῆβαι, μάλα κουφόνως ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλόμενοι τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ὀξύτερον ἔτι, πρὶν ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπὸ Ἀρχελαοῦ πρὸς Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο.

As he was passing through the country all Boiotia joined him, save for a few, including the great city of Thebes, which having taken sides with Mithridates against the Romans very lightly, now even more swiftly changed allegiance from Archelaos to Sulla, before the coming trial.

Such nimble back-peddalling was surely widespread, as is demonstrated in Plutarch's account of the trouble at his native Chaironeia in the prologue to his *Life of Lucullus* and his *Life of Cimon*, where the resistance of the young Chaironeian Damon against the Roman garrison and his problems with the local Chaironeian magistrates demonstrates the wavering stance of the *polis* at this time.⁷²¹ Such inconsistency might be extrapolated across almost the whole of Boiotia.⁷²²

Following the bloody end to his siege at Athens in spring 86BC, Sulla re-entered Boiotia (having passed through on his way to Athens the previous year) preferring to risk battle in its fertile plains against the enemy cavalry and chariots than face famine in barren Attica.⁷²³ Meeting up with the army of the *legatus* L. Hortensius, and watching as Lebadeia was looted by the enemy, Sulla finally faced the army of Archelaos near Chaironeia. Local Chaironeians took a decisive part in Sulla's victory, two of its prominent citizens - Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos – volunteering to dislodge a contingent of Archelaos' army that was stationed in

⁷¹⁹ Appian *Mith.* 30.117; Plut. *Sulla* 12.1; see also Santangelo, 2007, 45.

⁷²⁰ Santangelo, 2007, 35. Treatment of Thebes see Plut. *Sulla* 19.11-12. Pausanias tells us that the Thebans only turned to Mithridates out of friendship with Athens (9.7.4-6), an unlikely motive.

⁷²¹ Plut. *Cimon* 1.2.3; Santangelo, 2007, 46-47. The subsequent accusation by Orchomenos (ca.80-78BC) against Damon might be seen as an attempt to gain territory at the expense of a neighbour, while the defence of Lucullus in favour of Chaironeia – which may well have faced destruction if convicted – has been seen as the reason of Plutarch's writing of Lucullus' life – see Santangelo, 2007, 47.

⁷²² Santangelo, 2007, 48.

⁷²³ Plut. *Sulla* 15.

a strategic position on Mount Thourion, a hill near Chaironeia.⁷²⁴ Archelaos and his 10,000 men withdrew to Chalkis; how exactly this was achieved is left unspeaken. Appian tells how before Sulla's siege of Athens Archelaos withdrew from Piraeus and to Thessaly via Boiotia.⁷²⁵ As we later learn of Archelaos and his 10,000 living almost like pirates on Euboia, it is possible that he had left his fleet on the Boiotian coast of the Euripus and that this was his escape route out of Boiotia, north-east across the top of Lake Kopais.⁷²⁶ Such a role for the Boiotian ports might explain Sulla's later destruction of Anthedon, Larymna, and Halai, an enmity for which Plutarch otherwise offers no adequate explanation.⁷²⁷

The victory at Chaironeia – and maybe that at Orchomenos the following year - was celebrated by Sulla with games at Thebes, possibly at Theban expense (Plutarch *Sulla* 19.6):⁷²⁸

ταύτης τὰ ἐπινίκια τῆς μάχης ἦγεν ἐν Θήβαις, περὶ τὴν Οἰδιπόδειον κρήνην κατασκευάσας θυμέλην. οἱ δὲ κρίνοντες ἦσαν Ἕλληνες ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνακεκλημένοι πόλεων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε Θηβαίους ἀδιαλλάκτως εἶχε, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καθιέρωσεν, ἐκ τῶν προσόδων κελεύσας ἀποδίδοσθαι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἅπερ αὐτὸς εἰλήφει.

[Sulla] celebrated the festival in honour of this victory in Thebes, near the fountain of Oedipus, where an altar was prepared. The judges were Greeks invited from the other cities, since he remained unreconciled towards the Thebans, taking away half of their territory and consecrating it to Pythian Apollo and Olympian Zeus, giving orders that

⁷²⁴ Plut. *Sulla* 17.9-12. A trophy was uncovered on the peak of Isoma on 17 February 1990, identifying the site as Plutarch's Thourion – see Camp et al. 1992, 444. Mackay has suggested that this was a Chaironeian trophy rather than one left by Sulla himself - Mackay, 2000, 171-172; see also Knoepfler, *BE* (2009), 453 (no.251). Kalliontzis has recently questioned the dating and original meaning of the inscription – the use of a digamma is problematic during the first century BC - while not doubting that this was the inscription seen by Plutarch - Kalliontzis, 2014, 351-353. The repetition of prominent names may account for any confusion, if confusion there was. One Anaxidamos is named archon of Chaironeia around the beginning of the second century BC - see Darmezis, 1999, 66 n.93 - and we ought to expect a line of such; equally, Roesch refers to Homoloichos as one of the most common and widespread Boiotian names – Roesch, 1982, 116-117.

⁷²⁵ 12.41.

⁷²⁶ Archelaos as pirate see Appian 12.45.

⁷²⁷ Plut. *Sulla* 26.7. Santangelo sees the act as a prevention of Archelaos from using their harbours, and retaliation for their support of Mithridates (Santangelo, 2007, 48).

⁷²⁸ Plut. *Sulla* 19. Appian does not mention these games, while Plutarch names them as following the victory of Chaironeia, and places them before the victory at Orchomenos in 85BC. Knoepfler, however, states that these games celebrated both victories – Knoepfler, 2004, 1265. They seem to have been typically 'Greek' games, not Roman. For the tradition of victorious Roman generals celebrating such Greek games, see Ferrary, 1988, 554 and 565.

from its revenues the money should be paid back to the gods which he himself had taken from them.⁷²⁹

Sulla had taken the treasures from Delphi, Epidauros, and Olympia to fund his campaign, and was now imposing the repayment on Thebes.⁷³⁰ Although the lands were later returned to the Thebans at an unspecified time, Pausanias dates the decline of Thebes – so apparent in his own days – to this action of Sulla's.⁷³¹ I will return to this notion of decline in the next chapter. For now, I wish to return to the question of these Theban games. The choice of Thebes as the location of Sulla's victory games was perhaps dictated by a number of factors: firstly, it is possible that the games themselves were put on at Theban expense as further punishment, and by inviting competitors from all over Greece, but allowing no Theban judges, Sulla was able to display his mastery over the errant city; secondly, it must also be remembered that as headquarters of the *Technitai*, Thebes had become a prestigious agonistic capital and artistic hub in its own right.⁷³² Knoepfler has suggested that Sulla's *Epinikia* were musical, with the Theban artists forced to participate.⁷³³ The Theban *Technitai* would have provided a ready-made clientele.

If Plutarch's ordering of events is accepted, following these games, Mithridates sent his General Dorylaos with 80,000 men to join Archelaos' remaining 10,000.⁷³⁴ This combined army retook Boiotia, but were conclusively defeated by Sulla at Orchomenos in 85BC, following what Plutarch records – doubtless from Sulla's own memoirs – as a singular piece of heroism by the Roman proconsul, who alone managed to turn the tide of the retreating Romans.⁷³⁵ This was the final battle of the First Mithridatic War. Following his victory, so Appian tells us, Sulla took his final revenge on an unfaithful Boiotia (12.51):

⁷²⁹ There may be a link between Plutarch's use of the word *epinikia* and the introduction of a final event at several Boiotian games post-war called *ta epinikia* – see below at 5.2.3 and 5.2.5.

⁷³⁰ See Santangelo, 2007, 48; Paus. 9.7.5.

⁷³¹ Paus. 9.7.6.

⁷³² On the close relations that Sulla Maintained with various companies of *Technitai*, see Le Guen, 2001, 237-238; Knoepfler, 2004, 1265 n.79.

⁷³³ Knoepfler, 2004, 1265 – this must remain a supposition without literary or epigraphic grounding.

⁷³⁴ Plut. *Sulla* 21. See also Appian 12.49. Knoepfler states that these games celebrated both victories – Knoepfler, 2004, 1265.

⁷³⁵ Plut. *Sulla* 21. A trophy unearthed by a farmer near Orchomenos in 2004 and which would once have stood 4m tall is that erected by Sulla following this victory; it is still awaiting publication – Kalliontzis, 2014, 359.

καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν συνεχῶς μετατιθεμένην διήρπαζε, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν ἐχείμαζε, τὰς ναῦς τὰς μετὰ Λευκόλλου περιμένων.

He ravaged the continually wavering Boiotia, and coming into Thessaly wintered there, waiting for Lucullus and his fleet.

What exactly this ravaging or perhaps plundering consisted off is unclear, although according to Plutarch it included the destruction of the Boiotian coastal *poleis* already mentioned above, whose role in allowing the Mithridatic army's access to (and possibly exit from) Boiotia no doubt played an important part.⁷³⁶ Equally, we hear from Pausanias that in addition to his maltreatment of Thebes, Sulla punished Orchomenos and robbed the sanctuary of Alalkomenai of its cult statue of Athena, following which the shrine was abandoned.⁷³⁷ 86BC witnessed the last independent military actions of the Boiotian *poleis*.

5.2 *Agōnes* and the Mithridatic War

A wealth of epigraphic evidence exists for Boiotian agonistic competition during the first half of the first century BC.⁷³⁸ That the evidence falls away dramatically during the second half of the century only serves to emphasize the extraordinary flourishing of this first period, for as the games tables (Table 1 and 2) clearly demonstrate, no other period in Boiotian agonistic history boasts a comparable wealth of evidence, both in the number of *agōnes* and the range of events competed for. Epigraphic habit played some part in this apparent abundance, for the first century BC is rich in the summary accounts (*apologias*) of the *agōnothetai*, and also victor lists (often included in some *apologias*) as opposed to the individual dedications characteristic of the evidence from earlier centuries; victor lists allow for a more complete picture of the range of events competed for at each games, which individual dedications leave unknown, while supplying additional information regarding the organization of the games.

The post-Mithridatic period bears witness to the continuation of a number of festivals, such as the Amphiaraia at Oropos, the Ptoia at Akraiphia, the Agrionia and Herakleia at Thebes,

⁷³⁶ Plut. *Sulla* 26.7.

⁷³⁷ Paus. 9.33.6. It was for such crimes against the gods of Greece, so Pausanias' informs us, that Sulla was eventually visited with what is now more famously known as Herod's disease – i.e. eaten alive by maggots.

⁷³⁸ For an excellent summary and effort at chronology, see Gossage, 1975, *passim*.

and the Thespian Mouseia.⁷³⁹ In what follows, my emphasis will be on the changes in the nature or scope of these games and how this was related to the presence of Rome. For some games, little can be said. We know for example of a continued celebration of the Eleutheria at Plataia, but the available lists are too fragmentary to provide any clear pattern of change other than the typical reduction in epigraphic evidence which other Boiotian *agōnes* seem to have shared after 50BC.⁷⁴⁰ Yet this period also witnesses the first appearance of a number of new contests, namely the Homoloia at Orchomenos, the Sarapieia at Tanagra, and the Erotideia at Thespiiai. While the epigraphic evidence merely provides a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of these games, the rich epigraphic record is nevertheless testament to the flourishing of the Boiotian *agōnes* at this time.⁷⁴¹ As Gossage noted in 1975, perhaps the most striking feature of the agonistic inscriptions of this period, considered as a whole, is the continued vitality of the festivals of which they were a record, at a time when other parts of Greece were feeling the effects of the Mithridatic War.⁷⁴² That this flourishing occurred in such a difficult moment for the Boiotians needs some explanation, especially given Sulla's reprisals against the errant Thebans, Orchomenians, and other Boiotian *poleis*, alongside the fact that the fighting of the major battles of the campaign all took place on Boiotian soil. Yet alongside the new festivals, the *agōnes* at Oropos, Thespiiai, and Orchomenos were also flourishing, with well over fifty per cent of the victors coming from outside Boiotia, many from Greek cities overseas.⁷⁴³

It is not, perhaps, coincidental, that this Boiotian upturn occurred at a time when Olympia was temporarily in decline. Olympia had escaped Boiotia's open hostilities, but had suffered

⁷³⁹ See below.

⁷⁴⁰ A victory list from Epidauros (*IG* IV² 1.629) has been dated to ca. second/first century BC and records the victory of one Sokrates son of Sokrates son of Apollonius of Epidauros in the ἵππων, or cavalry; while a victor list in Plataia itself (*IG* VII 1666) possibly dating to the early part of the first century BC lists local victors, from Athens, Thebes, and Thespiiai. After the Mithridatic war, an honorary inscription for the runner Drakontomenes from Halikarnassos (*Syll*³ 1064) may date to ca. 50BC (see also *SEG* 14.728 and 34.1066). Other inscriptions cannot be more clearly than sometime in the period of the first centuries BC and AD: Robert, 1949, 117-125 – from Miletus, men's stadion, diaulos, hoplite race; *IMagn.* 119.149b – boxer/wrestler/pankratist from Magnesia on Meander; (*Syll*³ 1066) – men's pentathlon from Kos; Thespiiai *IG* VII 1856 - Honorific inscription for the athlete Neikogenes at Thespiiai – four victories unknown event which may even date to first or second century AD - see Strasser, 2003, 270-272.

⁷⁴¹ For some of these games it is difficult to decide if they belong in a pre- or post-war context. For Homoloia and Charitesia – see *IG* VII 3195-7, *IG* II² 3160 and Amandry et al., 1974, 224. For Sarapieia, see *IG* VII 540 and *SEG* 19.335 - Schachter prefers an early date in the first century BC, before the Mithridatic war - Schachter, 1981, 203 n.1, as do Slater, 2010, 278 and Gossage, 1975, 127, although a more recent analysis by Manieri favours a date post-87BC - Manieri, 2009, 268. Knoepfler states of a previous attachment to the former, but seems tempted now towards the latter - Knoepfler, 2011, 387.

⁷⁴² Gossage, 1975, 134.

⁷⁴³ Gossage, 1975, 134.

through Sulla's confiscation of its sacred treasures, while his removal of all the men's events of the great festival to Rome in 80BC led to a decline still evident years later. A list of victors from 72BC names seventeen Peloponnesians amongst the eighteen victors, seven of these being Eleans.⁷⁴⁴ While Boiotia may have benefitted overall from Olympia's decline, it is important to recognise beneath this blanket-flourishing the individual idiosyncratic responses to the crisis of the War of the various Boiotian *poleis*. It is from the details of these individual responses that we learn most about the Boiotian response to Rome, and the effect of Roman influence on the various Boiotian festivals. Despite the Roman interest in Greek religion – from Mummius down to Sulla – proof of a direct Roman influence is often difficult to come by.⁷⁴⁵ In Boiotia, however, at the end of the Mithridatic War, evidence of just such a Roman interference seems to be very much present, as I will discuss below.

5.2.1 The Amphiaraia and Romaia at Oropos – post 86BC

Evidence for the Amphiaraia is found for the start of the second century BC (during which period the *agōn* was known as the 'Amphiaraia Megala' and 'Amphiaraia') and also following the Mithridatic War, when the games were reorganized as the 'Amphiaraia and Romaia', the epithet Romaia signalling a direct relationship to the rising power of Rome.⁷⁴⁶ Between 146BC and 86BC, however, evidence is missing for the games, and it is possible that they were not celebrated.⁷⁴⁷ However, a recent paper by Kalliontzis has suggested an inauguration for the Amphiaraia Romaia during this empty second century BC period, with the epithet Romaia possibly linked to Roman actions surrounding disputes between Oropos and Athens ca.156BC, and the defeat of Andriskos by Rome in 148BC, thus favouring a mid-second-century date for its celebration.⁷⁴⁸ His evidence includes the use of the ethnic *achaios* for Philonides son of Philon in the victory list *IOropos* 521 (l.21) – of which Olympichos son

⁷⁴⁴ Gossage, 1975, 134.

⁷⁴⁵ Müller 2014, 136. Sulla for example granted asylon to Amphiaraus at Oropos, granting the sanctuary extra land and fiscal immunity – see Cicero *de nat. deor.* 3.49; Sulla was also initiated at Eleusis – see Plut. *Sulla* 26.1.

⁷⁴⁶ Amphiaraia Megala - *IG* VII 411, 412; *SEG* 11.338; Amphiaraia - *IG* VII 48; Didymos, in Schol. Pind. *Olympian* 7.1 54a, compare Schol. Pind., *Olympian* 7.154a - Schachter, 1981, 25 n.1. Epithet Romaia and Rome - Van Nijf and Williamson, 2015, 103.

⁷⁴⁷ Knoepfler, 1997, 35-36. He dates *IG* VII 48 as post-Mithridatic War. Its previous late second/early first century BC dating would place it comfortably during the missing period.

⁷⁴⁸ Kalliontzis, 2016, 92 and 105.

of Hermodoros was *agōnothetēs* and which proclaims itself as τὰ πρῶτα Ἀμφιαρᾶ καὶ Ῥωμαῖ[α] (1.2) – an anomaly, perhaps, given the dissolution of the Achaian *koinon* after the destruction of Corinth in 146BC.⁷⁴⁹ If correct, the date of a number of other inscriptions might also be pushed back into the second century.⁷⁵⁰ Others prefer a date soon after 85BC or as late as 73BC for the re-organization of the *agōn*.⁷⁵¹ Schachter has suggested that the designation *hieros* for a number of events in *IOropos* 521 (i.e. aulete, 1.15; youth and men's boxing 1.52-53) reveals either a failure of any competitors to reach the required standard, or a lack of competitors full-stop, the latter especially suggestive of a post-war situation.⁷⁵² Yet in this first celebration the range of competitors is diverse, and across all of the lists the number of participants is enormous, as is their geographical spread, especially when compared to the games in earlier centuries.⁷⁵³ The range of events is equally broad, the Amphiaraia and Romaia providing the greatest assortment of competitions of any first century BC Boiotian *agōn*, with declamatory, poetic, musical, dramatic and hippic events.⁷⁵⁴ As such they follow the diverse pattern of the fourth and third centuries BC (see for example *IOropos* 520) but to a greater degree, with the sole evidence for earlier dramatic events (the third century BC *SEG* 15.265) giving way to a vast dramatic programme. Here the tendency of individual victor lists to favour winners from single cities may reveal the presence of *Technitai* from those cities and their role in the organization of the festival.⁷⁵⁵

What explanation can be given for this post-war upturn? While the decline at Olympia may arguably have played a role, important consideration must be given to a fascinating

⁷⁴⁹ Kalliontzis, 2016, 94.

⁷⁵⁰ The net result would be a more uniform pattern of agonistic expression across the second and first centuries, although the post-Mithridatic boom would still be much in evidence.

⁷⁵¹ 85BC - Gossage, 1975, 117-120; Roesch, *Teiresias* (1976) E 76.32; 73BC - Etienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 250 n. 950.

⁷⁵² Schachter, 1981, 25 n.2. Petrakos equally dates this as the earliest victors' lists for the Amphiaraia and Romaia, placing the others somewhere between 80-50BC - *IOropos* 521-531 – respectively *AE* 14.32; *AE* 25/26 26.141; *IG* VII 416; 7.418; 7.417+415; 7.419; *AE* 25/26, 25.140; *IG* VII 420; *SEG* 51.585; *SEG* 31.427; *AE* 25/26, 24, 139. The designation *hieros* as denoting a tie at a Crown Games, see Rigsby, 1996, 77-78. In contrast, Manieri places *IOropos* 521 after the second Mithridatic War (83-81BC) and names *IG* VII 416 (*IOropos* 523) as the oldest of the post-war inscriptions - Manieri, 2009, 243.

⁷⁵³ Of the 133 individuals for whom localities exist, 85 are from Central Greece or the Peloponnese, including 38 Boiotians (of whom 32 were Theban), 24 from Ionia and Aiolis (6 each from Smyrna and Kyme), and then a few more scattered examples, such as an Egyptian and three Sicilians - Fossey, 2014, 111. The average distance travelled by athletes and performers nearly double that what it was in the fourth century BC – Van Nijf and Williamson, 2016, 18.

⁷⁵⁴ Not all the lists are complete. It is impossible to know for example whether the dramatic events, missing from *IOropos* 521 and 522, were a later addition.

⁷⁵⁵ Kotlinska-Toma, 2015, 269. For example, all but three dramatic winners from *IG* VII 419 and *IG* VII 420 (*IOropos* 526 and 528) are Theban, while most of *IG* VII 416 (*IOropos* 523) are Athenian.

document – a white marble stele from Oropos – which records a letter of the Roman consuls to the Oropians from October 14th 73BC outlining a decision of the Roman Senate in a dispute between Oropos and certain *publicani* (tax-collectors).⁷⁵⁶ Following his victory (presumably his final victory at Orchomenos), Sulla had turned over all of the taxes of wider Oropos to Amphiaraios, in fulfilment of a vow.⁷⁵⁷ What exactly this vow was is unknown, although Amphiaraios' role as primarily a healing deity suggests a medical problem.⁷⁵⁸ A favourable oracle regarding military victory is another possibility. But now the *publicani* were disputing Sulla's decision – and the decree passed during his consulship of 80BC - on the grounds that Amphiaraios had once been a man, and was a hero, a demi-god, not a full god and therefore not exempt from taxation.⁷⁵⁹ Amphiaraios won, and was thus allowed to continue receiving the profits from taxation for his sacred precincts, and more importantly for their continued use in the following way (*IG* VII 413 = *IOropos* 308 ll.46-49):

... ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἃς Ὀρώπιοι
 συντελοῦσιν θεῷ Ἀμφιαράω, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἃς ἂν μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς
 νίκης καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων συντελέσουσιν

for the contests and the sacrifices which the Oropians celebrate in honour of the god Amphiaraios, and likewise those which they will henceforth celebrate to commemorate the victory and the hegemony of the Roman people.⁷⁶⁰

Doubtless then it was Sulla's provision for the Oropian Amphiaraiia and Romaia which gave this festival its great impetus and explains much of its strength during the first half of the first century BC following the Mithridatic War.⁷⁶¹ This commemoration of 'the victory and hegemony of the people of Rome' - νίκης καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων - was as

⁷⁵⁶ *IOropos* 308 - *IG* VII 413 (esp. ll.42-51).

⁷⁵⁷ *IG* VII 413 (*IOropos* 308). Larsen has suggested that it is not unlikely that Sulla made financial provision for another sanctuary in Boiotia, namely that of Trophonius at Lebadeia - Larsen, 1975, 365, no. 13; see also Feyel, 1942a, 86 -7.

⁷⁵⁸ Dillon and Garland, 2005, 535. Plutarch mentions that Sulla developed numbness of the feet, the early signs of gout, while in Athens, but this was during a later visit (*Sulla* 26.3). Or maybe the ailment was not his? While a statue of Sulla at the site was dedicated to Amphiaraios alone (*IG* VII 264 = *IOropos* 442), that of his wife, Metella, was dedicated both to Amphiaraios and Hygeia (*IG* VII 372 = *IOropos* 443).

⁷⁵⁹ See Dillon and Garland, 2005, 535. Cicero was present at the debate and writes of it in *de nat. deor.* 3.19.49.

⁷⁶⁰ Trans. Gossage, 1975, 117.

⁷⁶¹ Gossage, 1975, 134.

early as 1895 linked by Mommsen with an agonistic event mentioned for example in *IG VII 417+415 (IOropos 525)* ll.68-69:⁷⁶²

εὐαγγέλια τῆς Ῥω[μαίων νίκης]

Εὐφάνης Ζωΐλου Ὠρώπιος

The announcement of the Roman victory, Euphanes, son of Zoilos of Oropos

In the previous line, Euphanes had been recorded as victor of the prestigious *apobasis*, an event whose presence dated from the first Boiotian instigation of games at the site, and which seems to have been restricted to Oropians.⁷⁶³ That *euangelia* was a competed-for event rather than just an honour has been conclusively argued by Strasser, who points to the first post-Sullan victory list (*IG VII 417 = IOropos 521*) where we find reference to a *stadion* race reserved for Oropians, and taking place to celebrate the good tidings of the Roman victory (ll.62-63):⁷⁶⁴

[Ὠ]ρωπίων [στ]άδιο[ν ε]ὐαγγέλ[ια Ῥωμαίων νίκης]

[Πυ]θόκρι[τ]ος Μυ[— — — —]

From Oropos, the *stadion* race of the announcement of Roman victory, Pythokritos, son of My[...]

That the victor of the *apobasis* was almost invariably recorded as also winning the *euangelia* suggests to Strasser a similar skill-set for both, if victory at the former was not a qualification for the latter.⁷⁶⁵

Clearly the financial boons granted by Sulla were responsible for much of the success shared by the games. It is to be supposed that the epithet Romaia was chosen willingly by the grateful Oropians, and that the *euangelia* too was established by them. In this way we see the

⁷⁶² Mommsen, 1885, 274 and n.2.

⁷⁶³ Schachter, 1994, 27. See for example *IOropos 529* (ll.21-23).

⁷⁶⁴ Strasser, 2001, 301. On εὐαγγέλια as an event, see Schachter, 1981, n.2, but c.f. Schachter, 1994, 26-27.

Robert also believed the εὐαγγέλια was a competition - Robert, 1969, 273-274. If Manieri is correct that *IG VII 416* is the earlier, then its competition for the *epinikia*, missing from the subsequent lists, may have developed into the *euangelia*. The possible musical or proclamatory form of the *epinikia* elsewhere may suggest something of this sort was involved at Oropos - see below on Charitesia/Homoloia.

⁷⁶⁵ Strasser, 2001, 301. A victor list *IOropos 529* (ll.21-23) may be the exception – here lacunae render the apobasist's patronymic invisible, along with the first name of the winner of the *euangelia*. Schachter equates the two - Schachter, 1994, 27 n.1; Strasser says the size of the lacunae contradict this equation - Strasser, 2001, 300-301, n.183 and 189.

first evidence of the clear financial benefits accrued for a Boiotian sanctuary and festival from a good relationship with Rome, just as Thebes was testament to the opposite. That these benefits at Oropos proved temporary was a matter of external circumstances. After 50BC the evidence for the Amphiaraia and Romaia falls away dramatically, and while the *agōn* continued to be celebrated, by the end of the century its name had reverted back to simply the Amphiaraia (for example, *SEG* 6.727c).⁷⁶⁶ A similar pattern of marked decline after the middle of the century is seen in virtually all of the Boiotian *agōnes*. This deterioration fits well with the economic strain of the late first century BC, with the financial burdens imposed by Roman proconsuls such as L. Calpurnius Piso, together with the strain of the Roman civil wars – beginning in 49BC – proving too heavy for local communities to bear.⁷⁶⁷

5.2.2 The *Agōnes* at Thespiiai: The Erotideia and Mouseia

During the first century BC evidence exists for two *agōnes* at Thespiiai, the already established Mouseia, and a new festival named the Erotideia. How early the cult of Eros goes back at Thespiiai is unknown; no evidence exists even for the Classical Period, and Schachter has argued that the cult owed its existence to the statue of Eros which Praxiteles gave to Phryne, and which she set up in her home town during the fourth century BC, dismissing the most ancient – *παλαιότατον* - statue seen by Pausanias as unreliable evidence.⁷⁶⁸

Knoepfler has theorised that in 146BC, Praxiteles' statue was removed from Thespiiai by L. Mummius and given to Athens, where it was displayed under the *skene* in the theatre of Dionysos, a statement directly contradicted by the testament of Cicero, who claims Mummius left this statue untouched, it being sacred.⁷⁶⁹ In Knoepfler's account, Cicero, who may have

⁷⁶⁶ See Schachter, 1994, 26. The latest inscriptions are of the third century AD.: *AJA* 45 (1941) 541-542; *IG* II² 4530; Petrakos (1968) 128.49; *SEG* 15.290; possibly *AM* 66 (1941) 67.15.

⁷⁶⁷ Gossage, 1975, 134. Gossage points to Cicero's *in Pisonem* 40.96 - Locri, Phocii, Boeotii exusti ... – 'you have ravaged the Lokrians, Phokians, and Boiotians...'

⁷⁶⁸ Schachter, 1981, 217. For story see Athenaeus *Deipn.* 13.591b. Schachter states that the rough image viewed by Pausanias (9.27.1) is mentioned nowhere else, and so its age, along with the reliability of Pausanias' informant is hard to gauge.

⁷⁶⁹ Knoepfler, 1997, 17-39. Knoepfler cites as evidence an epigram given by Athenaeus (13.591a - *Greek Anthology* 16.207) - where Athenaeus states that the inscription was below the *skene* of the theatre of Dionysus - and the absence of the statue in Strabo 9.2.25 (see Knoepfler, 1997, 29-31). In fact, Strabo merely says people used to visit because of the statue – he does not explicitly say it was no longer present. Equally, the location of the theatre where the statue's inscription is to be found is not named by Athenaeus. For Cicero's account, see *Verr.* 2.4.4.

himself seen the statue at Thespiiai ca.79BC, was knowingly masking the true brutality of Mummius' pillaging.⁷⁷⁰ A plausible occasion for the return of the statue was Sulla's victory over Mithridates, for Sulla boasted a particular connection to Venus/Aphrodite, and the return of the statue would be a fitting thank you from the Roman for the loyalty of Thespiiai.⁷⁷¹ A festival in honour of Eros existed in the second century BC at Thespiiai, but no inscription relating to the Erotideia unquestionably pre-dates the First Mithridatic War, leading Knoepfler to suppose that the Erotideia Romaia (the later Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia) was established after the return of the statue by Sulla.⁷⁷² If Knoepfler's suggestion is correct, then the return of the statue and the inauguration of the games must have been speedily done, for the first epigraphic evidence of the Erotideia is a dedication to Quintus Bruttius Sura - the Roman *praetor* of Macedonia, who had helped in Sulla's victory over Archelaos, and more specifically had freed the besieged Thespiiai from Archelaos' grip in 88BC – the dedication being dated by Roesch to ca.86BC (*IThesp* 34):

----- -ἀναθεῖν[αι δὲ αὐτοῦ]
 [εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανες[τάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς]
 πόλεως τὴν ἐ]πιγραφὴν ἔχου[σαν τήνδε· «Ὁ δῆμος]
 [Θεσπιέων Κό]ιντον Βραίτιον [Κοίντου? υἱὸν]
 [Σούραν πρεσβε]υτὴν Ῥωμαίων»· [τοὺς δ' ἀγωνοθέτας]
 [ἀναγορεῦσαι ἔν] τε τοῖς ἐπιτελε[σθησομένοις]
 Ἑρωτιδείο[ις τε καὶ Μουσείο[ις καὶ ἐν τοῖς νῦν ἀγω]-
 [νιζομένοις ἀγῶ]σι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ [τὴν ἀνάρρησιν]
 τήνδε· «Ὁ δῆμο]ς Θεσπιέων στεφ[ανοῖ Κόιντον]
 [Βραίτιον Κοί]ντου υἱὸν χρυσῷ στ[εφάνῳ φιλοτιμίας]
 [ἔνεκεν]· καλεῖν δὲ, αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν το[ῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις]
 τίθησιν εἰς π[ροεδρίαν καὶ ἐκ[γ]ό[νους αὐτοῦ].

⁷⁷⁰ Knoepfler, 1997, 26-27.

⁷⁷¹ On return of statue see Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.4; Knoepfler, 1997, 17-28. Sulla's good relations to Thespiiai see Plassart, 1926, 437-438 no. 73. Pliny states that Thespiiai was 'free' (*Nat. Hist.* 4 (12).25 and Plassart suggests this freedom goes back to Sulla – 1926, 438. As for the later history of Praxiteles statue, Pausanias (9.27.3) tells us that it was removed to Rome by Caligula, restored by Claudius, removed again by Nero, and finally destroyed by fire (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.22).

⁷⁷² Knoepfler *BE* (2010) 736-37. Knoepfler dates *IG* II² 1054 to after 86BC where previously dated to ca.100BC in *IG*. This is the earliest attestation of the epithet Romaia connected to the Erotideia. Manieri too adopts this lower dating – Manieri, 2009, 342.

... both dedicated a statue of him in the most visible place in the city that bears this inscription: ‘The people of Thespiiai (honour) Quintus Bruttius Sura, son of Quintus, the Roman ambassador.’ And for the *agōnothetēs* of the Erotideia and Mouseia to be completed, and during the contests which are presently taking place, to make this proclamation in the theatre: ‘The people of Thespiiai crowns Quintus Bruttius, son of Quintus, with a golden crown for his magnificence’ and invite him and his sons to sit in the foremost seats in the contests that the city celebrates.⁷⁷³

With no mention of ‘first’ celebrations, it is hard to agree entirely that the Erotideia was a wholly new contest. Even so, it is certain that Quintus Bruttius Sura’s rescue of the besieged Thespiiai, alongside the return of Praxiteles’ Eros (if this indeed happened), doubtless resulted in a renewed vigour for the already present or newly created games. The Erotideia, in contrast with the expanded Amphiaraia Romaia, seems to have been purely athletic and hippic – at least at this time - perhaps to complement the thymelic/dramatic bent of the Mouseia, and enticed competitors from a wide geographical area.⁷⁷⁴ Just under a third of the competitors with given ethnics in the most complete victor lists ca.60BC are Boiotian, but others hail from as far afield as the Black Sea and Asia Minor.⁷⁷⁵ The remaining fragmentary victor lists hint that the games continued to follow the same pattern at least until the first century AD, when there is some suggestion of a temporary union with the closely allied Mouseia, and the admittance of musical contests.⁷⁷⁶ Whether they continued with quite the vigour of the post-war period is unclear.

Alongside the possible return of Eros, Sulla appears to have had an interest in its sister festival, the Mouseia. He is reported to have dedicated the famous statue of Dionysus by Myron at the Mouseion, something which had previously resided at Orchomenos – proof of his spite against the latter *polis* – in an act of the type which Pausanias said the Greeks called

⁷⁷³ It is not clear, but I take ἐπιτελε[σθησομένοις to be referring to proclamations at future contests, which will have been completed; unless a distinction is being made between these contests and the present games of a different sort, which seems unlikely.

⁷⁷⁴ For complete victory lists of Erotideia, see *IThesp* 186-193. On foreigners at the Erotideia see Fossey, 2014, 109-110. Three lists dating to after the Mithridatic War, possibly ca.60BC, list victories in the stadion, diaulos, wrestling, boxing, and pankration (each for younger boys, older boys, and beardless youths), and pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, hoplite race, and numerous horse and chariot races (*IThesp* 186 and 187). The attribution of *IThesp* 187 (*IG* VII 1765) to the Erotideia is not certain – see Knoepfler, 1997, 34 n.80. (*IThesp* 186 as post-86BC see Knoepfler, 2010, 736, and Gossage, 1975, 115,

⁷⁷⁵ Four hail from Aiolian Kyme; one from Smyrna; one each from the Black Sea regions of Kysikos and Bithynian Nikaia; one from Kos; two from Karia; and one each from Epidamnus and Korkyra, the latter the home of the multi-talented Parmeniskos son of Parmeniskos, winner of the hoplite race, diaulos race, and the wrestling. See also Fossey, 2014, 110.

⁷⁷⁶ See 6.6 below.

‘worshipping one’s gods with other people’s incense’ - θυμιάμασιν ἄλλοτρίοις τὸ θεῖον σέβεσθαι.⁷⁷⁷ As with the Amphiaraia and Erotideia, evidence exists – albeit limited – of an expansion of the Mouseia in the years following the Mithridatic War. Five victory lists can be tentatively dated to the half century preceding the war, characteristically boasting the same events which the Mouseia had enjoyed since its inception, being mainly musical and dramatic.⁷⁷⁸ As Fossey has pointed out, during this period almost all of the known victors were locals, aside from a Pergamene, a Macedonian from Thessaly, and someone from a city of the Meander - a range consistent with the known history of the Mouseia.⁷⁷⁹ After the Mithridatic War, a change seems to occur, if we can read anything into a single victory list (*IG VII 1760 = IThesp 172*), dating from ca.80-70BC.⁷⁸⁰ The list of events is familiar, but the clientele seem to have expanded; we read from the given ethnics of the victories of just three locals - two Thebans and a Koroneian – and of three neighbouring Athenians and a Thessalian, a Phokaian, a Kysikene, a Sidonian, a Lydian from Xanthos, and an Aiolian from Myrina – this distribution being a mini version of the distribution for the Amphiaraia.⁷⁸¹ Once again, the second half of the first century BC presents a picture of absence, for which a number of factors already noted might be brought in to explain. But that the games continued in some form is evidenced by a mention of the Mouseia on a victory list from Notion from the early imperial period (*SEG 4.570*), although no other evidence exists until the last quarter of the second century AD.⁷⁸²

There is no evidence for any favour from Sulla save for his gift of Myron’s statue - just as at the Erotideia no direct assistance is suggested, other than the possible return of Praxiteles’ Eros - but the success of one no doubt fed the success of the other, both arguably benefitting from the increased agonistic traffic within Boiotia linked to the broadening Amphiaraia

⁷⁷⁷ Paus. 9.30.1.

⁷⁷⁸ Fossey lists *IG VII 1761 (IThesp 173)*; *BCH 1895 335-338 no’s 10 and 12 (IThesp 167, 171)*; *BCH 1897 568-569 no.3 (IThesp 169)*; *Polemon 1947/8, 73-80 (IThesp 170)* - Fossey, 2014, 111. Gossage, 1975, 116 dates the first to ca.90BC. Another victor list *AE (1917) 166-167*, found near Leuktra and previously linked to the Agrionia, Roesch attributes to the Mouseia and dates sometimes after 171BC (*IThesp 164*), although *LGPN* dates to ca.70-60BC, as does Schachter ca. 65-60BC - Schachter, 1986, 172-173. Attribution to Mouseia see Knoepfler, 2010, 741; but c.f. Manieri, who places it in C1BC with the Agrionia - Manieri, 2009, 304. Gossage, sensibly, states that the events could fit the Mouseia, Agrionia, Charitesia or Amphiaraia - Gossage, 1975, 115 n.2.

⁷⁷⁹ Fossey, 2014, 111-112.

⁷⁸⁰ For victory lists of the Mouseia, see *IThesp 152-185*.

⁷⁸¹ Fossey, 2014, 112.

⁷⁸² Fossey, 2014, 112. Fossey also mentions *IG IV 682*, the dedication to Pythokles of Hermione, but this text is now more usually dated to the third century BC – see for example Schachter, 2016, 369.

Romaia.⁷⁸³ As I have stated, there is no evidence that Thespiiai was granted the financial privileges enjoyed by Oropos, and it is unnecessary to propose that Sura helped fund the games at which he was to be praised; his lifting of the siege ought to have been reason enough for this honour. But Thespiiai was clearly able to put money behind its *agōnes*, and had not baulked at seeking external financial aid in the past. From the time of their dealings with foreign potentates during the late third century BC, the Thespian elites had revealed a cosmopolitan streak, and it is interesting to link such openness with the fact that Thespiiai alone of the Boiotians had remained loyal to Rome and not sided with Archelaos.⁷⁸⁴ The awarding of a golden crown to Sura, and the proclamations in his honour to be made at the time of the games ‘which celebrate the city,’ served to reiterate the strong bonds which the Thespians wished to publicise with Rome, bonds which they must have felt were important to the prestige of the *polis* and its leading citizens. The beneficial effect of such loyalties is reflected in the testament of Strabo, who states - albeit with obvious hyperbole - that by his time only Thespiiai and Tanagra remained of the Boiotian cities, the rest being ruins and mere names.⁷⁸⁵

5.2.3 – The Sarapieia at Tanagra

Early evidence for Tanagra’s favoured role in Roman Boiotia is found in the appearance of what may be a new *agōn* at the *polis*, that of the Sarapieia, unique in Boiotia as an *agōn* linked to the foreign gods Isis and Serapis. An *apologia* of the *agōnothetēs* of the Sarapieia, Glaukos son of Boukattes, was found at the church of Ag. Georgios at Tanagra along with the statement of accounts of the commission charged with administering the funds, and a victor list (*IG* VII 540 [+*SEG* 25.501]).⁷⁸⁶ The clientele of the musical/dramatic events were mainly local, with competitors also travelling from Aigira in Achaia, Athens, Taras, and Aiolian Kyme. Schachter dates the *apologia* to before the Mithridatic war, as do Slater and Gossage,

⁷⁸³ I will conclude with this below. Links between the Mouseia and Amphiaraia Romaia are revealed for example in the victories of the poet Demokles son of Ameinias of Thebes, and the rhapsode Eiranos, son of Phrynidas of Tanagra, who won their respective events at both sets of games – see *Polemon* III.1947/1948, 75 for Mouseia; Oropos (*IG* VII 416) for Amphiaraia Romaia. See Gossage, 1975, 121-122 for more detailed prosopographical relationships.

⁷⁸⁴ Appian 12.29.

⁷⁸⁵ Strabo 9.2.25.

⁷⁸⁶ Schachter, 1981, 203. The document was extended by Christou, *Arch.Eph.* (1956 [1959]) 34-72 (*SEG* 19.335); see also Calvet and Roesch, 1966, 297-332 (*SEG* 25.501). For later inscriptions see also *IG* VII 541-543 (post-87BC); *IG* VII 1621; 1636 (imperial period).

but the more recent analysis of Manieri favours a date post-87BC, rejecting Gossage's prosopographical arguments for a too-advanced age of a number of competitors given a post-war time-slot.⁷⁸⁷ As she argues, the internal organization of the events at the Sarapieia are identical to the other Boiotian games in their post-war incarnations, while the inclusion of an event named *ta epinikia*, a competition Manieri links to the celebration of Roman victory, also suggests a post-war date.⁷⁸⁸ The winner of *ta epinikia* in IG VII 540 is Asklepiades, son of Hikesios, from Athens, who under his victory as tragic poet is named as Theban. Strasser has suggested that Asklepiades had deliberately chosen to be proclaimed as a Theban citizen in order to honour Thebes.⁷⁸⁹ Such attribution of dual citizenship was not uncommon at this time and would increase in the coming centuries, and while the background of Asklepiades' citizenship is unknown, it is possible that he was living in Thebes as a member of the *Technitai*.⁷⁹⁰ Three further although extreme fragmentary victor lists (IG VII 541-543) exist for the Sarapieia for the immediate period after the Mithridatic War.⁷⁹¹

The Sarapieia stands out amongst the Boiotian *agōnes* in its relation to foreign cult.⁷⁹² Hellenistic Boiotian mercenaries would have been an obvious vehicle for the introduction of the Egyptian gods into Boiotia, especially Serapis, whose worship in Egypt may have been

⁷⁸⁷ Pre-87BC – see Gossage, 1975, 116; Schachter, 1981, 203 n.1; Slater, 2010, 278. Post-87BC see Manieri, 2009, 268-273. Knoepfler states of a previous attachment to the pre-war date, but seems tempted now towards the post-war – Knoepfler, 2011, 387. Manieri, 2009, 275 suggests that some of the later winners may be relatives of the earlier winners.

⁷⁸⁸ Manieri, 2009, 39. I will return to Manieri's proposed understanding of the *epinikia* when discussing the Charitiesia and Homoloia at Orchomenos below.

⁷⁸⁹ Strasser, 2004b, 152-153. Manieri sees this 'come omaggio alla città beotica ospitava i giochi' – as a tribute to the Boiotian city which hosted the games – Manieri, 2009, 274. Yet the games were at Tanagra, not Thebes.

⁷⁹⁰ On dual citizenship, see Van Nijf, 2012, 184-193. The involvement of *Technitai* in the Sarapieia may be evidenced in the inscription (I.53-54) which speaks of feeding the *Technitai* and the victors every day of the games. Schachter questions the separation *Technitai* and victors – for who were the latter if not the former; or were the *Technitai* fed twice, once as victors, once as *Technitai*? – Schachter, 1981, 203 n.1. Yet these dining arrangements may refer to those *Technitai* hired to begin or end the proceedings, not themselves competitors.

⁷⁹¹ Gossage dates them to ca.80-75BC – (1975, 116). Competitors are again predominately local but include a contestant from Tarsus. Gossage proposed a break in the festivals due to the war and a severe retrenchment of events after the Mithridatic War: the incomplete IG VII 542, for example, has no contests for *auloidoi*, *kitharoidoi*, poets of satyr-drama, tragedy, and comedy, unlike what he suggests was the earlier IG VII 540 – Gossage, 1975, 131. But compare Manieri's later dating – Manieri, 2009, 273.

⁷⁹² Also known are a sanctuary of Serapis at Kopai (Paus. 9.24.1); Hellenistic manumission decrees mentioning the god from Chaironeia (IG VII 3301-3377; 3380-3383; 3387-3390; 3393-3399; 3414; 3426), Koroneia (IG VII 2872) and Orchomenos (IG VII 3198-3204; 3215; 3219; 3220) and dedications at Thebes (IG VII 2482; 2483; 2681). Other gods are named in manumission decrees and Schachter supposes no special link between the cult of Serapis and the manumission of slaves – Schachter, 2016, 292.

fostered as a means of integrating Hellenic incomers and the indigenous population.⁷⁹³ The inscription (*IG* VII 540) mentions ‘expenses given to the phratries’ (ἀλ[ώ][ματ]α εἰς τ[ὰ]ς φατρίας - 1.66-67) – although the involvement of the cult in the running of the games is unclear.⁷⁹⁴ Knoepfler is happy to see the *agōn* as civic (although he accepts a private origin for the cult itself) and suggests that the Sarapieia’s post-87BC inauguration may have allowed it to become the musical/thymelic *agōn* of Tanagra, leaving the Delia to continue or develop its athletic bias.⁷⁹⁵

As with a number of Boiotian *poleis*, Tanagra seems to have benefitted from the favourable agonistic climate of the period, with evidence of victors at the Sarapieia also competing elsewhere in Boiotia: Eiranos, son of Phrynidas of Tanagra, was victorious twice at the Sarapieia (*IG* VII 542, 543), once at the Amphiarraia Romaia at Oropos (*IG* VII 416) and also at the Mouseia at Thespiiai (*Polemon* III, 1947/1948, 75); while the aulete Ameinias, son of Chairemon of Echinos, was victorious at both Oropos (*IG* VII 416) and at the Sarapieia (*IG* VII 542). No direct link with Rome is visible in either the organization or the naming of the games, yet the presence of the *epinikia* - as will be discussed below – presents the picture of a *polis* keen to demonstrate its favour towards Rome.

5.2.4 The Soteria at Akraiphia

As discussed in the previous chapter, it is probable that the Soteria at Akraiphia was established during the second century BC to celebrate the deliverance of the *polis* either from the Romans or their fellow Boiotians by Publius Cornelius Lentulus.⁷⁹⁶ The *agōn* itself is attested in just two victors lists (*IG* VII 2727-2728), both dating after the Mithridatic War,

⁷⁹³ Schachter, 2016, 291-292. Schachter suggests the popularity of Serapis with the Boiotians may have been due to his resemblance to Zeus Karaos, both having affinities to Hades – *ibid.* n.9. Boiotian mercenaries in Egypt are listed in Roesch, 1982, 476.

⁷⁹⁴ Schachter sees these phratries as being specifically linked to the cult of Serapis - Schachter, 1981, 203-204.

⁷⁹⁵ Private origin - Knoepfler, 2011, 387; Slater, 2010, 278. Thymelic speciality - Knoepfler, 2010, 750-751. Gossage in contrast proposed a severe retrenchment of events after the Mithridatic War: the incomplete *IG* VII 542, for example, has no contests for *auloidoi*, *kitharoidoi*, poets of satyr-drama, tragedy, and comedy, unlike what he suggests was the earlier *IG* VII 540; Gossage suggests both a break in the festivals due to the war, and a severe reduction of agonistic funds through looting by one side or the other Gossage, 1975, 131.

⁷⁹⁶ Livy 42.47.12 and 42.56.3-5. Schachter, 1994, 94.

although the existence of the games before this event is clearly alluded to in the Akraiphian victor list *IG VII 2727* (ca.80BC):

Ἀντίου ἄρχοντος, ἀγ<ω>νοθετοῦν[τος]
Ποπλίου Κορνηλίου τοῦ Ποπλίου υἱοῦ [Ῥω]-
μαίου τῶν τριετήρων Σωτηρίων πρῶ[τον]
ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἱερατεύοντος δὲ το[ῦ Δι]-
ὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος Θεομνήστου τοῦ Παρα-
μόνου, οἶδε ἐνίκων

In the archonship of Antios, when the Roman Publius Cornelius was *agōnothetēs* of the first trieteric Soteria celebrated after the war, in the priesthood of Zeus Soter of Theomnestos son of Paramonos, these were the victors... ⁷⁹⁷

As we see, ‘the first celebration of the trieteric Soteria after the war’ (τριετήρων Σωτηρίων πρῶ[τον] ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου - ll.3-4) clearly implies earlier celebrations.⁷⁹⁸ The events listed include a mixture of musical, dramatic, and athletic contests, typical of this time, while its competitors are almost exclusively Boiotian, save for a Kitharist and satyr poet from nearby Opous and Chalkis.⁷⁹⁹ The komoidos and kitharode are both designated ‘*hieros*’ – to the god - pointing either to a tie or to a lack of competitors, the latter a sign, to Schachter, of post-war difficulties.⁸⁰⁰ The highly fragmentary *IG VII 2728* names competitors from Thebes and Akraiphia only.⁸⁰¹ As a game of local concern, and with no victory lists from the second century BC, it is impossible to ascertain the effect of the Mithridatic War on the competition – whether the events or clientele differed in their pre-war incarnation. But as Gossage has pointed out, the presence of Publius Cornelius – with his given ethnic *Romaïos* - as *agōnothetēs* is symptomatic of a wider Roman interest and participation in the games of this post-war period, as exemplified by Sulla's provision for the Oropian Amphiarraia and Romaia.⁸⁰² An ethnically

⁷⁹⁷ Publius maybe became a popular name following the actions of Publius Lentulus.

⁷⁹⁸ Date – see Gossage, 1975, 118. On fragmented *IG VII 2728* as belonging to Soteria, see Schachter, 1994, 95. On interruption of the war, see Gossage, 1975, 126-127. See also Schachter, 1994, 95.

⁷⁹⁹ Chalkis and Opous were originally members of the fourth and third-century BC Boiotian League, and so had close local ties. Their presence is evidence that this was not a Boiotian-only games like the Pamboiotia.

⁸⁰⁰ Schachter suggests as much for the post-Mithridatic Amphiarraia and Romaia, which also has several events designated as *hieros* - Schachter, 1981, 25 n.2.

⁸⁰¹ Schachter, 1994, 95.

⁸⁰² Gossage, 1975, 134. His name too, Publius Cornelius, may show the link of the games with that of Publius Cornelius Lentulus.

identified Roman *agōnothetēs*, however, is exceptional, but understandable given the Soteria's *aition* of Roman providence. As at Thespiiai, the Akraiphian elites were promoting their Roman ties on a religious and agonistic stage, and displaying an active accommodation of the old with the new, something at which the Akraiphians were to excel in the coming centuries.

5.2.5 The Effect of Sulla on the Games at Thebes and Orchomenos

It will be interesting to turn for a moment to two *poleis* which Sulla was reported to have actively acted against: Orchomenos and Thebes. What evidence exists for agonistic competition in these places following the Mithridatic War?

As stated in the previous chapter, evidence of the Charitesia as a possible Crown Games featuring mixed competition of athletic and musical/dramatic type sometime around the end of the second century BC has been tentatively put forward by Knoepfler based on a single inscription of a young Athenian athlete (*IG II² 3160*).⁸⁰³ More solidly, the Charitesia is also known from three victory lists from Orchomenos (*IG VII 3195-7*) and an unpublished inscription uncovered in the theatre of Orchomenos in 1973 – all giving witness to solely thymelic events, without the apparent athletics of the second century BC.⁸⁰⁴ In 1975 Gossage placed the victory lists within a single decade reaching from the mid-70s to the mid-60sBC.⁸⁰⁵ Present consensus is to date all three post-86BC, given that victors in each are named elsewhere as victors at the post-war Amphiarraia and Romaia.⁸⁰⁶ Manieri has suggested *IG VII 3195* as the oldest, consisting only of the Charitesia, followed by *IG VII 3196* and *3197* respectively, both of which attest to the presence of the more recent Homoloia.⁸⁰⁷ The strangeness of the text

⁸⁰³ Knoepfler, 2008a, 626.

⁸⁰⁴ Orchomenos theatre – Amandry et al., 1974, 224. *IG II² 3160* was dated by J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1974, no. 283 to second or first century BC; by Bergmans, 1982, 10 to the Roman imperial period – see *SEG* 32.432. Roman era inscriptions from the theatre at Orchomenos, uncovered in 1972, reveal the importance of the theatre in its celebration – Buckler, 1984, 49-53. The inscriptions are found on two grey marble Doric architrave blocks which were part of the colonnade of the *proskenion*, found in the orchestra – see *SEG* 34.356.

⁸⁰⁵ Gossage, 1975, 121-122. Schachter's inclination in 1981 was to date all three to the period ca.90-70BC, placing *IG VII 3197* as the earliest, containing as it does two victors who appear at Delphi in 105BC and 97BC, the length of the list of events suggesting to Schachter a pre-Mithridatic War prosperity – Schachter, 1981, 142 and n.3.

⁸⁰⁶ See Knoepfler, 2010, 731 and Manieri, 2009, 175ff. For example, in *IG VII 3196* it is probable that the victorious trumpeter, Theophrastos son of Asklepiades, winner in the same discipline at the Amphiarraia of Oropos (*IG VII 419 = I. Oropos* 526), was the son of Asklepiades son of Theophrastos from Aigina, himself a victorious trumpeter at the Romaia ca.100BC – see Knoepfler, 2004, 1263-1264.

⁸⁰⁷ Manieri, 2009, 206.

in *IG VII 3195*, something Schachter describes as an attempted imitation of the moribund Boiotian dialect, with forms such as *κωμαρυδός*, may point to a date close to the mid-first century BC, at a time when the re-emergence of the Pamboiotia seems to reveal a surge of patriotic feeling.⁸⁰⁸ Manieri equally links the use of dialect with the antiquity of the cult of the Charites, stating that its use added to the sacred feel of the new games.⁸⁰⁹ I will return to this text with my discussion of the return of the *koinon* below.

As I stated above, two victor lists also name winners at the Homoloia (*IG VII 3196* and *3197*), these being the earliest evidence for this particular *agōn*.⁸¹⁰ This doubling of victory lists suggests that the two games were held at least sequentially, if not concurrently, as does the awarding to an overall victor in an event classified as *ta epinikia*.⁸¹¹ The exact meaning of *ta epinikia* is not, however, straightforward. In *IG VII 3195*, the list of victors in the Charitesia only, the winner of *ta epinikia*, the *komoidos* Euarchos son of Herodotos, is not the same person as the victorious *komoidos* named in the main victor list, that being one Nikostratos son of Philostratos. Schachter has suggested that this discrepancy points to a missing list of victors for the Homoloia, amongst which Nikostratos must have been the winning *komoidos*.⁸¹² In Schachter's view, the *epinikia* was awarded to the best overall performance between *both* sets of games, *ta epinikia* thus having a meaning along the lines of 'overall winner' like *δια παντων*.⁸¹³ In contrast, Strasser understands *ta epinikia* as an 'épreuve finale commune aux deux', a final test common to both games.⁸¹⁴ Either hypothesis would explain why the *epinikia* was awarded for different events at separate celebrations of the Charitesia/Homoloia, but the winning of *ta epinikia* by three competitors not named as separate winners in any other category at their respective games clearly favours Strasser's hypothesis.⁸¹⁵ More recently Manieri has

⁸⁰⁸ Schachter, 1981, 142. I will return to the Pamboiotia below.

⁸⁰⁹ Manieri, 2009, 206.

⁸¹⁰ An inscription from Megara (*IG VII 48*), now lost, which mentions victory of a Megarian boxer in the Homoloia, was thought to be the earliest evidence for the games ca.100BC. Knoepfler has suggested Homoloia as a misreading of Olympia, and that the inscription itself – with its mention of the Amphiarai – may post-date the Mithridatic War - Knoepfler, 2008a, 626-627. Manieri does not include it in her recent (2009) summary of Boiotian competitions. It is possible however, given Kalliontzis' (2016) redating of the Amphiarai-Romaia, that this inscription does pre-date the Mithridatic War. As yet, this debate has not been successfully resolved.

⁸¹¹ Schachter, 1981, 142.

⁸¹² Schachter, 1981, 142. But c.f. Manieri, 2009, 206.

⁸¹³ Schachter, 1981, 142. This is not to suggest that the winning event needed to have been competed for at both games: in *IG VII 3197*, the *epinikia* was awarded to the Athenian Alexandros son of Ariston, the poet of comedy, but there was no competition for comic poetry recorded for the Homoloia.

⁸¹⁴ Strasser, 2006, 307, n. 60.

⁸¹⁵ Examples of different events winning the *ta epinikia* - *IG VII 3195 komoidos*; *IG VII 3196 aulete*; *IG VII 3197 poet of comedy*. Evidence of winners of *ta epinikia* and a separate event - *IG VII 3196, 3197 (Homoloia)*,

argued for a specific understanding of *ta epinikia* (at least as far as Boiotia is concerned in the post-Mithridatic War period), that being a separate contest held to celebrate the victories of Sulla and Rome, with the usual winning event of the victor named.⁸¹⁶ This use of the term *ta epinikia* or *epinikion* is limited to Boiotian contests in the post-war period, with the exception of a victor list for the Mouseia ca.210BC (*IG VII 1762*) for which Manieri posits a one off event celebrating a victory, perhaps, of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe.⁸¹⁷

Whether both Charitesia and Homoloia existed during the second century BC is unknown. A further problem is the designation *nemetos* used to describe the Homoloia in both *IG VII 3196* (ll.23-24) and *IG VII 3197* (ll.36-37):

οἷδε ἐνίκων
τὸν νεμητὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὁμολοίων

These here are the victors of the *nemetos* games of the Homoloia.

Schachter has argued that *nemetos* meant restricted, perhaps a restriction based on proficiency (in *IG VII 3196*, for example, five of the six competitions named in the Homoloia were won by three people previously victorious in the Charitesia), or a restriction in terms of events, with the Homoloia offering a reduced and restricted programme, with representations of old, not modern, plays.⁸¹⁸ Slater also derives *nemetos* from *nemesis*, but links the name to the allocation of performers, such *nemetos* games being typically associated with the hiring of *Technitai* in advance – the events thus being already ‘allocated.’⁸¹⁹ Why one set of games

1761 (Mouseia), 2727, 2728 (Soteria), 540, 541 (Sarapieia), 416 (Amphiaraia-Romaia). Stand-alone victors in *epinikia* – *IG VII 3195*, 1762, 543.

⁸¹⁶ Manieri, 2009, 56. Manieri consistently refers to the victory being that of Sulla in the Third Mithridatic war – see for example Manieri, 2009, 131-132, 205. Yet her dates, and her constant referring to Sulla’s victories, clearly point to her meaning the First Mithridatic War (ca.88-84BC) in which Sulla was involved in Boiotia, rather than the Third (ca.74-63BC) fought by Lucius Licinius Lucullus and then Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (ca.75-63BC). For example she dates *IG VII 416* at Oropos, with its mention of the *epinikion*, before *IOropos 521*, which she states must be placed after the Second Mithridatic War - Manieri, 2009, 243.

⁸¹⁷ Manieri, 2009, 378. The *epinikia/epinikion* is attested in the post-war period at the Sarapieia (*IG VII 540*, 542, 543); the Mouseia (*IG VII 1761*, 1762); Soteria at Akraiphia (*IG VII 2727*, 2728); Charitesia/Homoloia (*IG VII 3195*, 3196, 3197); and the Amphiaraia Romaia (*IG VII 416*). In the latter games this may have developed to become the *euangelia*, almost certainly some form of race, but what *ta epinikia* was at the Homoloia is unclear. It, too, may have been an announcement of victory, but how the honour was bestowed remains a mystery.

⁸¹⁸ Schachter, 1981, 143.

⁸¹⁹ Slater, 2010, 281. Slater also notes that the events of the Homoloia were of an older type Dionysia ‘with only Old drama and choral awards’ suggesting *tragoidos* and *komoidos* refer to old works, as opposed to poet of tragedies/comedies - *ibid.*, 262. See also Knoepfler, 2010 (*BE n.295*) 378.

would be an open competition, one for hired *Technitai*, with both celebrated at arguably the same time, is unclear. Quite aside from the adjective *nemetos*, the name Homoloia itself is of interest. The month Homoloios is attested in regions of central and northwestern Greece (again Schachter suggests entry into Boiotia by way of Thessaly) and a number of deities are associated with similar epithets.⁸²⁰ It is possible that the games were named simply from the month in which they were held, a name given perhaps to distinguish the restricted *agōn* from the 'open' Charitesia.⁸²¹ Other suggestions include a link to Dionysus, and to the unnamed third-century BC *agōn* at Orchomenos, variously imagined as a Dionyseia or Agrionia, whose tripod dedications to Dionysus have been mentioned in a possible link to the winners of these *agōnes* or earlier versions of such.⁸²² A dedication from the *Boiōtoi* to the Charites (*IG* VII 3207) from the same time may suggest that a combination of worship of Dionysus and the Charites was present in the third-century BC *agōn*, and that perhaps this combination was extended to the later Homoloia and Charitesia.⁸²³ Unfortunately, while other deities are known to have had the epithet Homoloios - such as Zeus in Thessaly and Boiotia, and also Athena and Demeter at Thebes, there is no record of a Dionysus *Homoloios*.⁸²⁴ The best that can be said is that Dionysus as the central deity of the third-century BC musical *agōn* is unlikely to have been ignored in the (re-) appearing musical and dramatic *agōnes* of the third and second centuries BC if they were, indeed, a continuation or at the very least imagined to be.

Knoepfler has argued that the musical/dramatic Charitesia of the post-Mithridatic War was a poor reflection of the stephanitic games of the second century BC with their wider programme including athletics; that the local benefactors attempted - without sustained success - to restore the musical part of the contest - while also restoring the theatre.⁸²⁵ This may be too negative a conclusion: sustained success was beyond most of the Boiotian *agōnes* following

⁸²⁰ Bischoff, *RE* 10 (1919) sv "*Kalender*" 1589-1590 and Schachter, 1996, 120 and n.3.: Aitolia (Feb/Mar), Eresos, Halos (Aug/Sep), Melitaia (Aug/Sep), Naupaktos (Feb/Mar), Perrhaibia (May/Jun), Thessaly (May/Jun). See also Bischoff, *RE* 8 (1913) sv "*Homolios*" (2) 2264. Epithets - Zeus Homoloios, (Hyettos - *BCH* 3 (1879) 132; Thebes - *IG* VII 2456); Athena Homoloios (Lyk. *Alex.* 520); Demeter Homoloia (in Photios and Suidas); there is also a hero Homolōos (Aristodemos, *FGrH* 383F5a) - see Schachter, 1996, 121.

⁸²¹ Schachter, 1981, 123.

⁸²² See Amandry and Spyropoulos, 1974, 171-246 and te Riele, 1976, 285-291; also, Schachter, 1981, 180. On tripods see Papalexandrou, 2008, 260-261.

⁸²³ A close association between the Charites and Dionysus is suggested by a number of sources - Amandry and Spyropoulos, 1974, 228. Pausanias mentions the shrines of Dionysus and the Charites in succession in the same sentence (9.38.1) - perhaps denoting their physical proximity; Plut. *Quaest. gr.*, 36 (*Mor.*, 299 B) has the women of Elis singing a hymn which invokes the Charites at the same time as Dionysus; and in the Altis at Olympia, close to the Pelopion, there was a common altar to Dionysus and the Charites - Paus. 5.14.10.

⁸²⁴ Amandry and Spyropoulos, 1974, 227- 228.

⁸²⁵ Knoepfler, 2008a, 626.

the middle of the century, especially those which lacked a long and prestigious heritage; moreover, the post-war victor lists for the Charitesia/Homoloia boast an extraordinarily impressive clientele, with winning competitors hailing from Athens, Aigina, Argos, Opous, Phokis, Temnos, Paphos, Rhodes, Daphne in Antioch, Kysikos, Aiolian Myrina and Kyme, Chalkedon, Antioch on the Meander, Taras, and an unspecified Herakleia – possibly that called ‘Pontic’, with only around one third of the victors being Boiotian.⁸²⁶ Quite how impressive this list of participants is may be demonstrated by a study undertaken by Bergmans, whose hypothesis – that the importance of an *agōn* is proportional to the distance covered by the participating artists – leads to the conclusion that the Charitesia and Homoloia were, using this criterion, more important than the Thespian Mouseia, to whom they had lost their statue of Dionysus courtesy of Sulla.⁸²⁷

Without earlier victor lists, Knoepfler’s suggestion of decline is unprovable, despite the apparent loss of athletic events. Instead, the wide participation suggests that the Orchomenians were successful in recovering from their treatment at Sulla’s hands, restoring their theatre – presumably destroyed by the Romans – and benefitting from the increased agonistic traffic occasioned by Sulla’s more beneficent actions at Oropos (evidenced by the sharing of a number of the same competitors).⁸²⁸ That the epithet Romaia is never attributed to either of the Orchomenian games seems, on the face of it, an understandable oversight given the *polis*’ treatment at the hands of Rome. But if Manieri’s understanding of *ta epinikia* is correct, the inclusion of a final event which celebrated Roman victory would speak against a simplistic anti-Roman stance at Orchomenos, and for pragmatism amongst the games organizers, presumably the aristocratic elite.

As for Thebes, it suffered to a greater degree than any other Boiotian *poleis* under Sulla, and the effects on Theban agonistic expression were marked. No evidence exists for the Romaia after 86BC, and while Knoepfler’s suggestion of the continuation of the Romaia down to the Mithridatic War lacks any epigraphic backing and serves merely as a possible *terminus ante quem* for its disappearance, the unlikelihood of the ravaged Thebans renewing a festival which

⁸²⁶ Pontic Herakleia, see Fossey, 2014, 108.

⁸²⁷ Bergmans, 1982, 16-19.

⁸²⁸ For example, the trumpeter, Theophrastos son of Asklepiades, was victorious at both the Charitesia (*IG* VII 3196) and Amphiarraia (*IG* VII 419 = *IOropos* 526). Also, Euarchos son of Herodotus of Koroneia, winner of *epinikia* as komoidos at Charitesia/Homoloia (*IG* VII 3195) and as actor at Amphiarraia (*IG* VII 415+417).

celebrated Roman magnanimity after this date is obvious.⁸²⁹ This falling away seems to have been characteristic of the other Theban *agōnes* as well, if the failure of survival of the inscriptions themselves is not to be wholly to blame. We know of an *agōnothetēs* of the Agrionia, one Nikomachos (*IG* VII 2447 – his patronymic is missing), during the first century BC, but this probably dates from the early part. Equally for the Herakleia, a dedication from Athens naming a victory of an unknown athlete in an unknown speciality at both the Nemean Games and the Herakleia in Thebes (*IG* II² 3154) has been dated no more specifically than the first century BC. This leaves *IG* VII 48 – the dedication of a Megarian boxer dated post-Mithridatic War by Knoepfler – as our sole piece of evidence for the Herakleia at this time.⁸³⁰ Such a poor epigraphic record, in contrast to the evidence at Thespiiai and Oropos, suggests a dramatic and negative effect on Theban agonistic expression in this post-war period.

5.2.7 Summary

While the general trend of the Boiotian *agōnes* following the Mithridatic War is one of increase up until mid-century, this trend masks a more individual reaction to the fortunes of war, which for the most part can be understood as directly related to Roman interference. The most dramatic downturn is that of Thebes, whose treatment at the hands of Sulla is well attested. Orchomenos, which itself suffered, was able to rally, benefitting no doubt from the increased agonistic traffic occasioned by Sulla's provisions for Oropos, from which the Mouseia and Erotideia at Thespiiai also clearly profited. Prosopographical evidence reveals a connection of the victors at each of the major games within Boiotia, and presents a picture of the Boiotian *agōnes* as something of a first-century BC *periodos* of their own, with each games benefitting from the success of the others.⁸³¹ At a time when Olympia was experiencing something of a

⁸²⁹ Knoepfler, 2004, 1278.

⁸³⁰ Knoepfler, 1997, 35-36. If this date, and not that of the second century BC, is accepted.

⁸³¹ Victors at numerous games include the epic poet Mestor son of Mestor of Phokaia, and the rhapsode Kraton, son of Kleon of Thebes, both victorious at Oropos (*IG* VII 418) and the Charitesia at Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3195); epic poet Arminias, son of Demokles of Thebes, and comic actor Kallistratos, son of Exakestos of Thebes, victorious at Oropos (*IG* VII 417) and the Charitesia at Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3195); trumpeter Theophrastus son of Asklepiades, victorious in Charitesia (*IG* VII 3196) and Oropos (*IG* VII 419); comic actor Euarchos, son of Herodotos of Koroneia, at Oropos (*IG* VII 417) and Charitesia (*IG* VII 3195); kitharode Demetrios son of Homoloios of Myrine, comic actor Euarchos, son of Herodotos of Koroneia, herald Herodes son of Sokrates of Thebes, epic poet Mestor son of Mestor of Phokaia, and aulist Perigenes, son of Herakleides of Kyzikos, all five victorious at both the Mouseia (*IG* VII 1760) and Charitesia (*IG* VII 3195); poet Demokles, son of Arminias of Thebes, and rhapsode Eiranos son of Phrynidas of Tanagra, victorious at the Mouseia (*Polemon* III 1947/1948 75) and Oropos (*IG* VII 416), Eiranos also being victorious at the Sarapieia (*IG* VII

decline, it is possible that the Boiotian *agōnes* were able to enjoy a period of flourishing at Olympia's expense, so that Sulla's actions can be seen as directly contributing to Boiotia's agonistic boom following directly after the Mithridatic War.

During this same period the Roman epithets associated with the games seem to reflect genuine recognition of benevolence towards the Romans, and an increasing awareness by those organizing the festivals of the importance of fostering these Roman connections. It was those *poleis* which were most active in this respect – Thespiiai, Akraiphia, and Tanagra in particular – which were to enjoy the greatest success in the coming centuries, thus demonstrating the real importance for the elites and their respective *poleis* of forging these relations to Rome.

5.3 The Re-emergence of the Boiotian *koinon* in the first century BC

The exact timing of the re-establishment of the Boiotian *koinon* is a matter of continued debate. In his Book on Achaia, Pausanias suggests a swift return to the old system after the events of 146BC, which is when he places the dissolution of the Boiotian League (7.16.10):⁸³²

ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐτράποντο ἐς ἔλεον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδόασιν ἐκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι, ἀφῆκαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοις ἐπιβεβλήκει Μόμμιος ζημίαν

A few years later the Romans took pity on Greece, restored the various old ethnic confederacies, with the right to acquire property in a foreign country, and remitted the fines imposed by Mummius.⁸³³

What exactly 'a few years later' might mean is unclear. Pausanias also mentions a Theban Boiotarch Pytheas, who gave his support to Kritolaos' Achaian League in their stand against Rome (7.14.6), which would suggest the political *koinon* was still in place prior to 146BC. Following these actions, Rome occupied Thebes, dismantling its walls and killing its rebellious leaders, and the Boiotians were forced to pay an indemnity of 100 talents to Heraklea and

542, 543); herald Glaukias, son of Sosandros of Thebes, aulist Ergeas son of Ergeas of Antiochian Daphne, and aulode Rhodippos son of Rhodippos of Argos, each victorious at Ptoia (*BCH* 46 1920 251 n.10) and Oropos (*IG* VII 418, 419), and Charitesia (*IG* VII 3196, 3197) respectively. See Gossage 1975, *passim*, esp.121-222.

⁸³² Polybius places the dissolution to 171BC (27.2.7). It is possible that some rudimentary association lasted until 146BC, but it is possible Pausanias is simply incorrect.

⁸³³ Trans. Jones, 1933, 261.

Euboia.⁸³⁴ Etienne and Knoepfler have dismissed the existence of Boiotarchs between 167-146BC, stating that a complete dissolution after 171BC along the lines of Polybius and Livy should be accepted.⁸³⁵ A decree at Oropos from around this time (ca.150BC) asks for the help of the Achaian confederacy to free them from Athenian control; had the Boiotian federation existed at this time, so Müller argues, surely they would have solicited their aid.⁸³⁶

More likely dates for the re-appearance of the *koinon* have been suggested recently by Knoepfler and Müller, Knoepfler preferring a date just after the Mithridatic wars, either 85-80BC, 75-70BC, or slightly later, perhaps in the context of Lucullus' identification of those areas of Greece worst savaged by Sulla; Müller suggesting a later date towards the last third of the first century BC.⁸³⁷ The important question is what form this *koinon* took, and how was it related to the earlier political body. What *is* clear is that this was not the same political *koinon* of the classical and Hellenistic periods; this was a purely cultural entity, whose remit of action was in the religious and agonistic field, of cultic functions and ritual performances rather than the political or militaristic ones.⁸³⁸ This Roman *koinon* was therefore reminiscent of the original association of the Boiotian *poleis* which had existed before the political *koinon*, and whose sphere of influence had been religious and cultural.

As I stated in the previous chapter, while the *koinon per se* did not reform until arguably the late first century BC, Müller has argued that something of the structure of the original framework was maintained throughout the period after 171BC precisely through the interactions of the various Boiotian *poleis* in the sphere of religious/agonistic festivals and their organization, albeit with interruptions imposed by war.⁸³⁹ Thus at Akraiphia, Tanagra, and Lebadeia for example, the Boiotian elites undertook the renewal of the pan-Boiotian agonistic festivals (the Ptoia, the Delia, and the Basileia respectively) based on a common kinship - *syngeneia* - of cities, the Boiotian *ethnos* thereby affirming its common identity even in the

⁸³⁴ Paus. 7.15.5-11; Pol. 38.16.4-10; indemnity, see Paus. 7.16.10.

⁸³⁵ Etienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 342-347, especially 346 and 347 note 321. Müller has recently argued that Pausanias' source of information was Polybius, someone she believes incapable of viewing Boiotian or Theban activity in any terms other than those of a federal action, when in fact the federal institutions no longer existed - Müller, 2014, 124. C.f. Roesch, 1965, 71 n.3 who states that Boiotarchs were never just a local magistrate and hence suggests the term represents a federation at this time.

⁸³⁶ Müller, 2014, 124. On the conflict see Paus. 7.11.4.

⁸³⁷ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1454; Müller, 2014, 125-127.

⁸³⁸ Schachter, 1981, 124. Beck and Ganter, 2015, 157. See also Roesch, 1965, 71-73; Schachter, 1994, 82-84; Buck, 1993, 106.

⁸³⁹ Müller, 2014, 122 and 130. The dating of the re-establishment is argued at some length based on epigraphical sources.

absence of a formal constitutional framework.⁸⁴⁰ But what needs to be emphasized is the individual nature of each of these constituent parts on which Müller's argument is based. The evidence for the specifically *koinon*-run games, for example – the Pamboiotia and Basileia – does not reappear until the mid-first century BC; while other *agōnes* with a pan-Boiotian flavour or meaning, such as the Ptoia and Delia, seem to have continued but under the strong control of individual *poleis*. Thus it seems that different *agōnes* and festivals were playing a unifying role at different times and perhaps under varying agencies. Equally, the evidence for the return of the Basileia and Pamboiotia pre-dates the official record of the returning *koinon*, this latter perhaps best attested through evidence of the actions of the *naopoioi* – the body of magistrates charged with the organization of religious festivals and which had been originally created with the purpose of overseeing the construction of the temple of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia.⁸⁴¹ The *naopoioi* do not appear on inscriptions until ca.34BC, where they are associated with a centralized *koinon* now meeting at the Itoneion near Koroneia, and seen organizing the Basileia. Taken as a whole, this suggests an increasing, if scattered and less formal, interaction on the part of a number of elite aristocratic families, prefiguring the formal recreation of the *koinon*, for which the presence of the *naopoioi* can be taken as evidence.

The relatively late appearance of the Pamboiotia and Basileia suggests a more prominent role for the other *agōnes*, especially the Ptoia at Akraiphia, in maintaining the Boiotian religious ties that Müller suggests allowed the *koinon* to regenerate at some point just before the imperial era.⁸⁴² The Ptoia is especially interesting in this instance because of the integral role played by members of a number of prominent Akraiphian families in its organization (as well as the organization of a number of the other pan-Boiotian *agōnes* of this period). In the following section I will focus on these prominent families to understand the role of the elites in promoting the idea of Boiotian unity both within Boiotia and on a wider, Roman stage.

5.4 The families of Praxilleis and Theomnestos and the Ptoia at Akraiphia

While the celebration of the Ptoia at Akraiphia was always closely connected with its nearby *polis*, its pan-Boiotian aspect was already apparent by the end of the third century BC,

⁸⁴⁰ Müller, 2014, 136.

⁸⁴¹ Müller, 2014, 129. On formation of *naopoioi* see above at 3.3.3.

⁸⁴² Müller, 2014, 122.

no doubt linked to the role played by the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios at Perdikovrysi as the official oracle of the Boiotian *koinon*.

The celebration of the Ptoia during the first century BC is attested in a number of fragmentary victor lists, decrees, and accounts of *agōnothetai*.⁸⁴³ In 1975 Gossage proposed a sequence of *BCH* 1920.11 ca.80BC; *BCH* 1920.10 – ca.65BC; *IG* VII 4149 - ca.60BC; *IG* VII 4147/4148 - ca.50BC.⁸⁴⁴ Unfortunately little consensus can be found concerning this dating which might allow us to view this pattern and assess it for development or diminution. The dating of *IG* VII 4147/4148 is especially open to dispute, relying as Gossage does on the identification of Praxilleis, the father of the *agōnothetēs* Aischriondas (*IG* VII 4148), with the Praxilleis of *IG* VII 3078, one of the Akraiphian *synthytai* (those taking part in the sacrifice) at the Basileia.⁸⁴⁵ In fact generations of Aischriondas-Praxilleis pairings are known throughout Akraiphian history: a decree of the late second century BC found near the church of Ag. Georgios at Akraiphia concerning the inauguration as *proxenos* of the Roman Gaius Octavius son of Titus (*IG* VII 4127), names a Praxilleis son of Aischriondas as secretary; Schachter has suggested this Praxilleis as great-great grandfather of the *agōnothetēs* Aischriondas.⁸⁴⁶ Whatever the exact link, these inscriptions attest to the central role played by a single Akraiphian family during this period, with the proxeny decree *IG* VII 4127 revealing the importance of dealings with Rome.

An Aischriondas, son of Polyxenos, is named as *agōnothetēs* of a celebration of the Ptoia, ca.65BC on a stele which also lists the delegates from participating Boiotian *poleis* (*BCH* 44 (1920) 249.10) (Figures 23 and 24) including Thebes, Thespiiai, Orchomenos, Lebadeia, Kopai, and Boumeliteia, re-iterating the pan-Boiotian role played by these games under Rome.⁸⁴⁷ The victors include a trumpeter, a herald, rhapsode, poet, aulete, aulode, kitharist, and kitharode, three hailing from Thebes, but the rest from as diverse places as Thessaly, Argos, Myrina in Aiolis, and Taras, the winning aulete - Ergeas son of Ergeas from Antiochian Daphne – being

⁸⁴³ *IG* VII 4147-4149; *BCH* (1892), 463.4; *BCH* 44 (1920), 249-252.10 and 261-262.11-12.

⁸⁴⁴ See Gossage, 1975, 116.

⁸⁴⁵ Gossage, 1975, 132. Schachter places *IG* VII 4148 at the end of the first century BC/start of first century AD - Schachter, 2016, 222 n.25; Knoepfler, 1988, 283 and 284 n.72 places it ca.100BC, as does Graf, 2015, 21-22; cf. Müller 2005, 119 note 125.

⁸⁴⁶ Schachter, 2016, 222 n.25.

⁸⁴⁷ *IG* VII 4149 (ca.60BC) also gives a list of *theoroi*. These include delegates from Thebes, Orchomenos, Kopai, Thespiiai, Lebadeia, and Tanagra - see also *SEG* 32.444 and Roesch, 1982, 226.

victorious also at the Charitesia at Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3196).⁸⁴⁸ The later victor list (*IG* VII 4147) names an almost identical range of events (save for a missing aulode), with three Thespian victors, one from Akraiphia, an Athenian and one each from Sikyon and Ephesus. Whether this reveals a diminishment of geographical scope is unclear.⁸⁴⁹ Graf has recently argued that the associated dedication (*IG* VII 4148) - which expresses the gratitude of the *polis* towards Aischriondas son of Praxilleis in his role as *agōnothetēs* of the Ptoia, who had ‘abundantly and lavishly offered sacrifices to the gods and banquets to the citizens’ – reveals evidence of increasing poverty which would eventually lead to a breakdown in the celebration of the games, private benefaction having replaced funding by the *koinon*.⁸⁵⁰ While this is not unexpected (given the non-existence of the *koinon* for much of the second and first centuries BC) evidence of further decline is found in an honorary decree to Epameinondas of Akraiphia set up by the grateful Akraiphians (*IG* VII 2712), which records that when Epameinondas became *agōnothetēs* ca. AD 37, the Ptoia had not been celebrated for thirty years (ll.56-57).⁸⁵¹ The pattern of sharp agonistic decline (perhaps linked to the Civil Wars), which seems to have affected Greece from the mid- first century BC onwards and from which Boiotia was never to fully recover, hints at financial troubles across the board, with the partial collapse of that agonistic circuit which had been the short-term legacy of Sulla’s beneficent actions at Oropos and possibly Thespiiai.⁸⁵² In such a depressed climate, the actions of the wealthy families, such as Aischriondas son of Praxilleis, and Epameinondas, with their links to Rome, would become even more important, and it is easy to understand the Akraiphians’ gratitude.

The dedications for the games celebrated when Aischriondas was *agōnothetēs* (*IG* VII 4147/4148 – end of the first century BC/ start of the first century AD if we follow Schachter and Müller) include the detail that one Nikomachos, son of Theomnestos, served as prophet of the oracle at Mt Ptoion.⁸⁵³ This is evidence of yet another Akraiphian family which played an important role in uniting each of the especially pan-Boiotian games, for Theomnestos is placed

⁸⁴⁸ See Bizard, 1920, 252.

⁸⁴⁹ Always a difficulty in that victor lists by their very nature name only the winners and not all competitors. The geographical scope of the modern Olympics would appear severely truncated if only the countries of the medal winners were known.

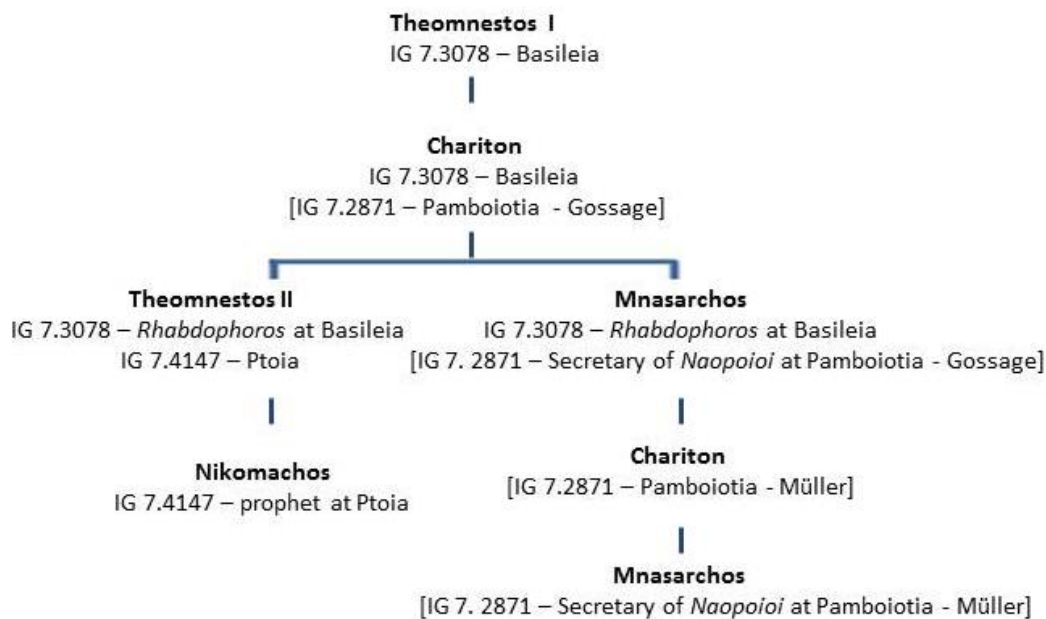
⁸⁵⁰ Graf, 2015, 21-22. Graf’s dating of 100BC makes little sense in this particular scenario. Schachter too argued for evidence of poverty – Schachter, 1981, 72. On the role of the Civil Wars on agonistic decline – see Gossage, 1975, 134.

⁸⁵¹ See below at 6.3.

⁸⁵² Further evidence of financial difficulties will be given in the next chapter.

⁸⁵³ Schachter, 2016, 222 n.25; Müller 2005, 119 note 125.

by Gossage on the extensive family tree of another Theomnestos, whose members were also to be found officiating at the Basileia and the Pamboiotia.⁸⁵⁴ In the following genealogy I have combined that of Gossage with the more recent proposal of Müller, the latter arguing for a later dating for the inscription concerning the Pamboiotia (*IG* VII 2871) and the identification of Mnasarchos son of Chariton – secretary of the *naopoioi* at the *agōn* – as the grandson of Mnasarchos son of Chariton, *rhabdophoros* at the Basileia (*IG* VII 3078) – rather than being the same person.⁸⁵⁵



The genealogy reveals the integrating role played by a single Akraiphian family in the celebration of the most important pan-Boiotian festivals, the Ptoia, the Basileia, and the Pamboiotia. One should imagine that such connections would have been found amongst the prominent families of each of the Boiotian *poleis*, highlighting the central importance of wealthy Boiotian families in holding Boiotia together as a single religious entity, and demonstrating precisely the networks – centred on prestigious pan-Boiotian religious sites and festivals – out of which the Boiotian *koinon* re-emerged. It is testament to the continuing importance to the *polis* elites of expressing an idea of Boiotian unity and identity. As I will discuss below, it is arguably in the latter half of the first century BC, when the agonistic slump

⁸⁵⁴ I will return to these games in more detail below.

⁸⁵⁵ Tree based on Gossage, 1975, 124, and Müller, 2014, 129. *IG* VII 3078 = *IG* VII 3078+BCH 25 (1901) 365.19. Müller puts *IG* VII 2871 ca.AD14 - Müller, 2014, 129, with 51BC as the latest date for *IG* VII 3078 being the year of death of Ptolemy *Auletes*.

sets in, that the first evidence emerges for the reformed Boiotian *koinon*. The reason for this reappearance is unclear, but it appears that over a century after the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon*, the idea of being Boiotian once again became a priority for the Boiotian elites, with the Akraiphians leading the way.

5.5 The reappearance of the Basileia at Lebadeia and the Pamboiotia at Koroneia

In the previous chapter I discussed the theory of Knoepfler of the Basileia as a marker of the existence of a functioning Boiotian *koinon*, the festival being replaced at other times by the locally-run Trophonia, the two never appearing together on a single inscription.⁸⁵⁶ The first re-appearance of the Basileia at Lebadeia after a hiatus of almost a century is recorded in the *apologia* of the *agōnothetēs* Xenarchos, son of Sokrates of Hyettos, concerning his stewardship of the Basileia (*IG* VII 3078+BCH 25 (1901) 365.19) and dated sometime ca.85-51BC.⁸⁵⁷ The existence of an *agōnothetēs* from a *polis* other than Lebadeia reveals the pan-Boiotian dimension to the games which seems to have been missing from the Trophonia, although as Müller has recently argued, this does not yet mean that the Basileia was federal, for the later federal organs – the *naopoioi* and their secretary – are nowhere mentioned in the inscription.⁸⁵⁸ Equally, the *polis* ethnics of the Boiotian victors are given, rather than the blanket *Boiōtios* of the earlier Basileia inscriptions.⁸⁵⁹ To square Müller's view with that of Knoepfler means assuming a commonality of religious action and integration between the Boiotian *poleis*, yet without the formal structure of the *koinon* which later in the century met at Koroneia. Again, the tracings of just such an ersatz body might be seen in the family of Theomnestos of Akraiphia, for we read in the inscription of the presence of Theomnestos (II) and his brother

⁸⁵⁶ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1455.

⁸⁵⁷ Gossage, 1975, 123. This inscription was previously dated ca.120BC based on a mistaken identification of the Ptolemy Philopater of the inscription as Ptolemy VII Neos Philopater instead of the later Ptolemy Philopater Auletes – see Müller, 2014, 125. Also, *IG* VII 3091, 3096. The *terminus ante quem* comes from the death of Ptolemy Auletes, who reigned 80-58BC and 55-51BC. Manieri, 2009, 156-159 for text.

⁸⁵⁸ Müller, 2014, 126. This argument of course only stands if we date *IG* VII 2871 to much later and separate the Mnasarchos *Rhabdophoros* from the Mnasarchos, secretary of the *Naopoioi* – Müller makes them grandfather and grandson, her evidence partly based on prosopographical links with other, later, inscriptions – the victor Aulos Kastrikios son of Aulos, a Thespian who seems to appear in another inscription from AD 14 – *CIL* III. 701 – see Müller, 2014, 128-129.

⁸⁵⁹ *BCH* 25 (1901) 365.19 lists Boiotian city ethnics beside those from other cities, the only general ethnics being *Romaioi* (i.e. face A, l.15).

Mnasarchos, sons of Chariton of Akraiphia, as *rhabdophoroi* – rod-carriers - of the Akraiphians at the Basileia.⁸⁶⁰

The inscription, on three faces, records a list of victors and the *apologia* of the *agōnothetēs* Xenarchos (face A); an incomplete list of delegations sent by certain Boiotian *poleis* (face B); and details of a legal procedure of Xenarchos against his predecessor (face C). The inscription also suggests organization of the Basileia by *telē*, typical of the organization of the federal pan-Boiotian contests during the Hellenistic era – the *rhabdophoroi* of face B coming almost exclusively from the *poleis* of a single *telos*, consisting of Akraiphians, Anthedonians, Boumeliteians, Kopaïans, and Larymnans.⁸⁶¹ Equally, on face A (ll.36-37) we find the mention of the choosing of *agōnothetai* ‘of the *telē* of the cities, of the *telos* of Plataia and of Thespiiai’.⁸⁶² It is therefore possible to surmise that something of Boiotia’s previous political and military organizational structure continued to be expressed in these religious-agonistic gatherings, which therefore functioned as a type of ersatz-political grouping in the period after 86BC. Evidence that certain of the Boiotian sanctuaries and their *agōnes* – and perhaps the Basileia especially – became the *locus* of such collective aspirations is implied in other details from Xenarchos’ *apologia*.⁸⁶³ Xenarchos mentions how the *poleis* had been exempted from their contributions, implying, so Müller neatly suggests, a common system of financing, and therefore a common treasury – perhaps the very treasury of Zeus Basileus named on face C of the inscription.⁸⁶⁴ Equally, judges from the cities are called to deal with the non-submission of accounts of Xenarchos’ predecessor who had died in office, something, Müller argues, to be sorted at the time of competition, along with the nomination of the next *agōnothetēs*; the festival thus becoming, as it were, a meeting place for the would-be *koinon*.⁸⁶⁵

The games boast an impressive roster of events and clientele, and for the first time since the fourth century BC we have evidence of full hippic events (although the paucity of victor lists before this time does not allow us to speculate on the innovatory nature of these new

⁸⁶⁰ Müller, 2014, 129 translates *rhabdophoroi* as ‘police officers’.

⁸⁶¹ For this grouping see Knoepfler, 2001b, 360 n.68. The exception is the mention of a sole Plataian, but the grouping is otherwise striking. It is possible organization by *telē* was characteristic to some degree of some elements of the organization of other games and festivals, even if not manifested in the competitions and events.

⁸⁶² This text is quoted in Brelaz, 2007, 282 n.124. See also Müller, 2014, 135, who points out the difficulty of meaning, especially in the term *telos* itself and what meaning it might have had at this time.

⁸⁶³ See below for similar hints in the Delia and Basileia.

⁸⁶⁴ Müller, 2014, 134. Details see face A, ll.20-37 (*BCH* 25 (1901) 365.19).

⁸⁶⁵ Müller, 2014, 135.

games).⁸⁶⁶ The range of competitors is more impressive compared to the earlier Basileia. *SEG* 3.368 from pre-171BC, for example, names victors from Antioch on the Pyramus and from Smyrna, while the post-Mithridatic games can boast victors from Bithynia, Epidamnus, Tyre, and most impressive of all a victory is recorded in the chariot race for full grown horses (Ἄρματι τελείῳ) by King Ptolemy Philopater (βασιλεύς Πτολεμαῖος Φιλοπάτωρ - *BCH* (25) 1901, 365.19 face A ll.18-19).⁸⁶⁷ Gossage has identified this Ptolemy Philopater as Ptolemy XII Theos Philopater Philadelphos Neos Dionysos, also called *Auletes*, the father of Cleopatra VII.⁸⁶⁸ The presence of so illustrious a figure entering a chariot at the Basileia clearly speaks of an exceptional prestige for the games at Lebadeia at this time, although such foreign links were not unprecedented.⁸⁶⁹ Ptolemies had also been involved in the third-century BC reorganization of the Mouseia, and the attempt of Ptolemy *Auletes* to court Rome suggests a personal reason for his involvement in the agonistic Greco-Roman world.⁸⁷⁰ Thus the Boiotian *agōnes* might also be viewed as a conduit of relations between foreign powers.

The success of the Basileia may owe something to the buoyant agonistic circuit which developed after the Mithridatic War, yet its prestige in the wider world after so long a lapse suggests an additional impetus such as that found in those games attached to the *poleis* most closely linked to Roman favouritism, such as Thespiai and Oropos. It is therefore interesting that Larsen has suggested Lebadeia as a possible beneficiary of Sulla's favour after the war.⁸⁷¹ The reasons for such an action need not be too difficult to find, for just as Sulla had rewarded Amphiaraus for a favourable oracle, it is possible that Sulla also repaid Trophonius for *his*, a response recorded by Plutarch (*Sulla* 17):

Ἐκ δὲ Λεβαδείας καὶ τοῦ Τροφωνίου φῆμαί τε χρησταὶ καὶ νικηφόρα μαντεύματα τοῖς
Ῥωμαίοις ἐξεπέμποντο.

⁸⁶⁶ The first recorded for the Basileia since those in the fourth-century BC honorific epigram for the athlete Timokles, son of Asopichos, from Thebes (*IG* VII 2532). The only other record is the second-century BC victory of Kallikles in colt horse race (*keleti poliko*) at the Theban Herakleia – see Heberdey et Wilhelm, 1896, 81, n 17.

⁸⁶⁷ Another dedication, from Potidaea (*SEG* 14.478), lists the victories of an athlete whose name is lost, in the stadion, diaulos, and hoplite races at the Basileia. Knoepfler, 2010, 1454 dates this to post-80BC.

⁸⁶⁸ Gossage, 1975, 124. He is taking word of Holleaux *BCH* 30 (1906) 469 ff. See also Knoepfler, 2010, 1447. *BCH* 25 (1901) 365.19 lists Boiotian city ethnics beside those from other cities, the only general ethnics being *Romaioi* (i.e. face A, l.15).

⁸⁶⁹ If we include the albeit indirect involvement of Antigonos III Doson and the Basileia in the late third century BC through the person of his saviour at Larymna, Neon son of Askondas of Thebes.

⁸⁷⁰ On relation of *Auletes* to Rome, see for example Siani-Davies, 1997, 306-340.

⁸⁷¹ Larsen, 1975, 365 n.13.

From Lebadeia and the cave of Trophonius favourable utterances and oracles announcing victory were now sent out to the Romans.

Sulla's repayment is suggested somewhat obliquely by Cicero, once again in his *de natura deorum*, where the matter of taxes at Oropos – for which see above - raised the question of the divinity of Amphiaraus.⁸⁷² In the same passage the nature of Trophonius is also questioned, suggesting that taxes at Lebadeia may also have been disputed, and that Sulla had set up the same provision for Trophonius at Lebadeia as he had for Amphiaraus at Oropos.⁸⁷³ Of course the Trophonion and the precinct of Zeus Basileus were separate, but it is possible that Lebadeia as a whole profited from this gift of Sulla's, and that the upturn in the Basileia may have been one result.⁸⁷⁴ As such we might classify the Basileia as another Boiotian games which owe much of their success to direct Roman involvement.

Following this brief period of increase, the Basileia – like all the Boiotian *agōnes* - enters the second half of the first century BC reduced. Another victor list (*SEG* 3.367) found at Chaironeia and dated to ca.40-30BC by Müller, lists victors in an unchanged programme of events but whose victors are mostly Boiotian – still sporting individual *polis* ethnics – alongside a Thessalian, a Carian, and two Romans, including the overachiever Publius Licinius, winner of two separate horse races and the same chariot event as Ptolemy *Auletes* earlier in the century.⁸⁷⁵ The geographical scope is limited, a factor perhaps of the later date and the financial strains of the Civil Wars, yet the very existence of the games is worthy of note in a period when we hear nothing of the Boiotian *agōnes* save for the this and the Pamboiotia (a complete reversal of the pre-War condition), both pan-Boiotian games with former close links to the Boiotian *koinon*. In fact, in *SEG* 3.367 we hear – at last - of the instrumental role of the *koinon* in setting up the Basileia itself (l.30-31):

ὁ καθεσταμένος ἀγων[ν]οθέτη(ς) ἐ[π]ὶ τὸν ἀ[γ]ῶνα τῶν Βασιλείων, ὃν τίθησι τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν

⁸⁷² Cicero *de nat. deo.* 3.49.

⁸⁷³ Larsen, 1975, 365 n.13.

⁸⁷⁴ The exact relation of the oracle and temple is unclear, especially given the uncertainty over the location of the former. Zeus is however addressed as Zeus Trophonius – see for example *IG* VII 3090, while Livy tells us that in 167BC Aemilius Paulus visited the temple of Zeus Trophonius (45.27.8). Schachter sees such connections as being caused by the physical collocation of their respective sanctuaries towards the end of the third century BC – Schachter, 1994, 88.

⁸⁷⁵ Gossage, 1975, 116 and 124-125 dates to ca.60BC. Müller, 2014, 126 to 40-30BC.

The appointed *agōnothetēs* at the *agōn* of the Basileia, which the *koinon* of the Boiotians set up

In addition, the inscription also mentions ‘those *naopoioi* present who have come from the cities’ (τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ναοποιοῖς - l.36). Here the *naopoioi* – the body earlier inaugurated to oversee the construction of the Temple of Zeus at Lebadeia in the third century BC and the only federal institution to survive the dissolution of the *koinon* – appear as a board of magistrates, elected by the individual *poleis* to serve on their behalf to oversee the finances of the Basileia, as they will later be found doing at the Pamboiotia.⁸⁷⁶ They are accompanied by a secretary, Antimedon of Plataia, acting as eponymous archon, since the magistracy of the federal archon had never been re-established. Equally, it is the *naopoioi* before whom the *agōnothetēs* of this inscription, Prokles son of Thebangelos of Thespiai, is recorded as bringing charges against the previous incumbent.⁸⁷⁷ Finally, the existence of Boiotarchs - καὶ τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις (l.38) – equally points to a re-formed *koinon* along pre-171BC lines.⁸⁷⁸

As I have argued above, the networks of associations of the prominent Boiotian families seem to have carried the torch of Boiotian unity through the period following the dissolution of the *koinon* in 171BC to its reformation in the second half of the first century BC. The Ptoia especially reveals a pan-Boiotian dimension, and it should probably be assumed that the organization of these particular games took place at the Ptoion or Akraiphia itself; that the site of the games was itself the *locus* of operation of the ersatz *koinon*. The same is doubtless true for the reformed Basileia. Moreover, the central organizational role of the *naopoioi* – originally linked to the temple of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia – in other games of this period, such as the Pamboiotia (as will be discussed below) points to the Basileia as playing a key role in the reformation of the official quasi-political body which by this period was identifying itself as the Boiotian *koinon*. At the very least the Lebadeian magistrates seem to have become the

⁸⁷⁶ See Müller, 2014, 126; Knoepfler, 2008a, 273; Gossage, 1975, 123-126. For *naopoioi* at the Pamboiotia, see for example *IG* VII 2871 and *IG* VII 2711, both of which I will examine below. Schachter has suggested it was the religious nature of the *naopoioi* - seemingly holding no threat to the Romans – which allowed their survival - Schachter, 1981, 124.

⁸⁷⁷ Müller 2014, 125. but the mention of the Boiotarchs (l.38) - καὶ τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις – equally points to a re-formed *koinon* along pre-171BC lines.

⁸⁷⁸ Müller seems to overlooked this mention.

syndrion of the *koinon*, just as their secretary was to serve as eponymous magistrate, although the Itoneion at Koroneia was to become their formal seat.⁸⁷⁹

What led to this move is unclear, although the agonistic boom post-86BC and the increased prestige of a number of the Boiotian games perhaps strengthened the religious networks upon which the later *koinon* was built. The first secure dating of the renewed Boiotian *koinon* is 34/33BC, evidenced from a dedication of a statue (*IG II² 4114*) found at Athens of M. Junius Silanus the *pro-quaestor* of Mark Antony, set up by a number of federal entities which include ‘the *koinon* of the Boiotians, Euboians, Lokrians, Phokians, Dorians...’ (τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶ[ν] Εὐβοέων Λοκρῶ[ν] Φωκέων Δωριέων).⁸⁸⁰ The Boiotians were keen, therefore, to promote themselves once again as an active body in the wider Greco-Roman world, although their sphere of action seems nevertheless to have been mainly religious, tied to the organization of festivals and games. Whatever the impetus behind the reformation of the *koinon*, clearly being Boiotian was once again a matter of importance to the elites of the latter half of the first century BC. With the diminution of the agonistic circuit, one wonders whether Boiotian identity had once again re-emerged as a central mode of elite self-expression at this time.⁸⁸¹

As for the Pamboiotia, as I discussed in the previous chapter, evidence is missing from the beginning of the second century BC, well before the dissolution of the *koinon* in 171BC, with the possibility that the pro-Macedonian stance of Koroneia, Thisbe, and Haliartos, at the beginning of the century – against the predominately pro-Roman Boiotian position – had not been conducive to a celebration of a festival of Boiotian unity at this time. Equally, the dissolution of the *koinon* ca.171BC resulted in the disappearance of the federal organs which had previously administered both the Pamboiotia and the Basileia.⁸⁸² But it is possible that the Pamboiotia was re-inaugurated during the first century, alongside the Basileia and the re-establishment of the *koinon*. The earliest evidence - an incomplete victor list found at Thespiiai

⁸⁷⁹ Müller, 2014, 129. As Schachter states, ‘[i]n later centuries, when the *koinon* ceased to have any political meaning, the capital moved to the old religious centre at Koroneia, and whatever decrees this emasculated *koinon* passed were passed by the *naopoioi* meeting at the Itoneion on the occasion of the Pamboiotia’ Schachter, 1981, 127.

⁸⁸⁰ Müller, 2014, 126.

⁸⁸¹ If the local games were curtailed financially following the Civil Wars, pan-Boiotian games may have provided a wider field for local elite ambition, the pooled finances of such games making them a more pragmatic investment?

⁸⁸² See Müller, 1986, 127-141.

(IG VII 1764) and posited as an errant stone by Feyel - has been attributed to the Erotideia, Basileia, and Pamboiotia in turn.⁸⁸³ Lacking city ethnics, it is impossible to attribute the list to any particular *agōn* with any certainty, especially as the list of events – hippic and athletic - is reminiscent of both the Basileia and Pamboiotia. But there is, in addition, a competition by *telē*, with the torch race once again won by the *telos* of Thespiiai, something which points clearly to the Pamboiotia, as no celebration of the Basileia is known to have been organized this way (even if *telē* were involved in the organization of the Basileia itself).⁸⁸⁴ The presence of typical Boiotian surnames such as Kephisodotos and Thebangelos is enough to prove that at least *some* of the contestants were Boiotian, although without certainty regarding the others we cannot exclude the Basileia as a possibility. On a prosopographical note, Müller has suggested that Thebangelos [P...], winner of the race for full-grown horses, may be the father of Prokles son of Thebangelos, *agōnothetēs* of the Basileia (*SEG* 3.367) ca.30BC, placing IG VII 1764 sometime around 60BC. If this list is from the Pamboiotia, it would place the re-emergence of the games at about the same time as that of the Basileia, whose *terminus ante quem* is 51BC.⁸⁸⁵

An incomplete victor list (IG VII 2871) found at Mamoura (present day Alalkomenes) records the winners in an unnamed athletic/hippic *agōn*, almost certainly the Pamboiotia given the stone's location. Gossage originally placed the inscription ca.75BC, but more recently Müller has suggested a date in the latter half or final third of the first century BC, or perhaps even later, with the winner of one of the horse races, the Thespian Aulos Kastrikios son of Aulos, arguably the same man as the Aulus Castricius A. filius Modestus found on a Latin dedication (*CIL* III 701) dated precisely to AD 14.⁸⁸⁶ Feyel originally thought the inscription related to the Basileia, for it mentions the *naopoioi* - whose original links are with Lebadeia - as well as events for individual competitors, something previously unattested for the Pamboiotia.⁸⁸⁷ However, the earlier inscriptions for the Pamboiotia, not being victor lists but team dedications, do not give a full account of all the events, and while there is no reason why individual events could not have been added to the earlier team events during the first century BC, in AD 37 the *naopoioi* are recorded as organizing the federal *panēgyris* (the Pamboiotia at

⁸⁸³ Basileia – Feyel, 1942a, 60; Müller 2014, 128; Knoepfler, 1997, 34 n.80 – although cf.2001b, 359, n.63 where he favours the Pamboiotia. Pamboiotia – see Schachter, 1981, 125-126.

⁸⁸⁴ See for example *SEG* 3.367 (ll.36-37).

⁸⁸⁵ 51BC being the date of the death of Ptolemy *Auletes*.

⁸⁸⁶ Müller 2014, 128-129. Latin inscription - *CIL* III. 701 Gossage, 1975, 116 dated this to 75BC. Knoepfler attributes the list to the Pamboiotia rather than the Basileia - Knoepfler, 2008b, 1449.

⁸⁸⁷ Feyel, 1942a, 58ff.

Koroneia).⁸⁸⁸ With only Boiotian ethnics recorded for this list, the attribution to the Pamboiotia seems almost assured.⁸⁸⁹ The events too are what we would expect, with hippic and athletic events, and team events organized by *telos*, with the torch race once again won by the *telos* of the Thespiains (Θεσπιέων τὸ τέλος - I.17).

5.6 Summary

In the post-Mithridatic period, Boiotia enjoyed a short-lived though impressive agonistic boom, profiting both from the selective favours of Sulla and the temporary diminution of Olympia, the result being the creation of a popular agonistic circuit. The agonistic collapse which seems to have followed ca.50BC is best understood as purely economic and linked to Greece becoming the theatre of the Roman Civil Wars.⁸⁹⁰ During the period of Mark Antony especially, serious requisitions were made from the Greeks: Plutarch relates how Octavius set about the redistribution of grain to relieve the Greeks who had been stripped of their money, slaves, and pack animals, while Plutarch's own great-grandfather Nikarchos told tales of the citizen body of Chaironeia forced to carry grain for Antony down to Antikyra on their shoulders.⁸⁹¹ On March 17, 49BC Cicero expressed his concern that no place in Greece would escape being robbed, and soon after, in 42BC, the Battle of Actium was to prove the single biggest financial burden on the struggling Greeks.⁸⁹² The effect of these larger political realities on the agonistic history of Boiotia ought not to be underestimated, and given such economic conditions, the falling away of the Boiotian *agōnes* – as that found throughout the Greek world at this time - is understandable, as is the collapse of the thriving agonistic circuit.

Yet evidence of three *agōnes* survives into this period, these being those which during the Hellenistic Period had been closely associated with the Boiotian *koinon* – the Ptoia, Basileia, and Pamboiotia. Each seems to have been re-inaugurated following the Mithridatic War, with the Ptoia arguably the earliest, and the Basileia and Pamboiotia perhaps following ca.60BC. The organization of all three had been linked to the existence of the Boiotian *koinon*

⁸⁸⁸ IG VII 2711-2722. The name *panēgyris*, a term first attested for the games in Polybius (4.3.5 and 9.34.1) is also found in IG VII 2871 – see Schachter, 1981, 125-126.

⁸⁸⁹ IG VII 1764 found at Thespiiai, and which Feyel also attributed to the Basileia – Feyel, 1942a, 67 ff. See also the hippic SEG 28.456 - Pritchett, 1969, 88; Schachter, 1981, 125-126.

⁸⁹⁰ Müller, 2014, 121.

⁸⁹¹ Müller, 2014, 121; Plut. *Antony* 68.

⁸⁹² Cicero *ad. Att.* 9.9.2; see also Larsen, 1975, 431.

during the Hellenistic period, with those most closely linked – the Basileia and Pamboiotia – disappearing alongside the *koinon* after 171BC. The return of these two festivals especially marks something of a transition. Although no evidence exists until ca.34BC for the returned *koinon per se*, the detailed epigraphical records of the latter half of the first century BC reveal a dense nexus of interaction of the wealthy elite of the Boiotian *poleis* at these three festivals. It was arguably out of these networks, with their organization of the games so reminiscent in structure to that of the Hellenistic *koinon*, that the *koinon* re-emerged along more formal lines in the latter half of the first century BC.⁸⁹³

The reasons behind the re-emergence remain unknown. The agonistic boom after 86BC may have installed a growing self-confidence amongst the Boiotian elites, but the reason why these expressions of Boiotian unity, linked to the celebration of the pan-Boiotian festivals, became the *locus* of elite prestige at just this time, when the other *agōnes* were falling away, is unclear. It is possible that financial difficulties were partly responsible; that in a time of hardship those pan-Boiotian games, which could call upon the joint contributions of a number of *poleis*, were able to continue more or less unaffected while other games struggled. But there were doubtless other reasons. As I mentioned above, around the middle of the first century BC a victor list of the Charitesia at Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3195) exhibits what Schachter has described as an attempted imitation of the moribund Boiotian dialect, with forms such as *κομαρυδός*, at a time when the re-emergence of the Pamboiotia may reveal a surge of patriotic feeling.⁸⁹⁴ It is reminiscent of the later adoption of a pseudo-Lakonian dialect ca.AD 130-300 at Sparta, an act which has been linked to the cultural interests of the ‘Second Sophistic’ with its interest in and re-invention of the Classical past.⁸⁹⁵ The Orchomenian example reveals that such self-conscious attempts at forging an identity through links with the past were already present in Boiotia during the middle of the first century BC, and had arguably been part of the Boiotian agonistic *modus operandi* for much longer still. These attempted links with the prestigious past were only to develop further in the coming centuries, as the Boiotian elites sought to negotiate a new relationship with their Roman overseers.

⁸⁹³ Müller, 2014, *passim*, summarized at 136.

⁸⁹⁴ Schachter, 1981, 142.

⁸⁹⁵ The dialect itself was something of a Roman fiction being simply *koine* with a slightly bogus Lakonian ornamentation – see Kennell, 1995, 91-92.

Chapter Six: The First century AD (AD 1-100)

Boiotia Reduced

6.1 Introduction

During the first century AD, the Boiotian *agōnes* experienced a continuation of the agonistic decline which had followed the end of the Roman Civil Wars, a pattern shared by the Greek mainland but which stands in direct contrast to the increase in agonistic expression found throughout the wider Greek world, and especially the Greek east. In this chapter I examine the continuing role played by games in the face of this decline in the expression of Boiotian identity, especially the role played in fomenting a relationship with Rome. As I have argued at length throughout this thesis, festivals, especially those of an agonistic nature, became the nexus of negotiation of complex relationships and interactions at numerous levels, especially between the elite citizens and their peers, besides playing an important role as carriers of both local and collective identity. It is during the first century AD that the role played by the *agōnes* in negotiating with their Roman overseers becomes especially visible.

The first century AD arguably witnessed the beginnings of what is now termed the ‘Second Sophistic’.⁸⁹⁶ As I discussed in the Introduction, the term ‘Second Sophistic’, coined by Philostratus for an oratorical style which had as its focus the glories of Classical Greece, is in modern scholarship more generally used to refer to the Greeks’ interest in their own Hellenic past, an interest now best understood as reflecting the active construction of identity during a period of change.⁸⁹⁷ The re-imagination of the past as a means of engaging with the present has been a constant feature of the festivals and *agōnes* studied in this thesis, but the military and political impotence of the Greeks under Rome lent this link with tradition a more insistent edge. This idea of an ‘active construction of identity’ allows a more optimistic understanding of the Greek interest in their past, where it is seen as a way of manoeuvring in, and adapting to, the

⁸⁹⁶ Schmitz, 2014, 33.

⁸⁹⁷ See for example Alcock, 2002, 41 and Swain, 1996, 8.

changing world. Such a view is epitomized by Preston in her analysis of the role of Plutarch in the forging of Greek identity under Rome.⁸⁹⁸ The Boiotian Plutarch, a native of Chaironeia who was born in AD 40 and died early in the reign of Hadrian, was the exemplary product of the Greek system of education or *Paideia*.⁸⁹⁹ Plutarch was a loyal Boiotian who refused to leave his small native *polis* lest it become smaller; but he was also a priest at Delphi and a Roman citizen.⁹⁰⁰ In his *Parallel Lives* he set down *exempla* of virtue, comparing the similarities and differences of Greek and Roman models, his use of the Greek past speaking for his assurance that there was a continuity of culture and identity between that past and his present; his inclusion of (and contrast with) the Roman suggesting that Greek identity was itself adapting – not Romanizing, or becoming simply Greco-Roman, but engaging constructively in a new dialogue, a new ‘uneasy amalgam’ if you will.⁹⁰¹

Plutarch’s placement within the literary tradition of the ‘Second Sophistic’ is a complex matter. Schmitz has recently set Plutarch wholly outside the ‘Second Sophistic’, inasmuch as he understands the author as separating himself as a philosopher from the rising sophistic tradition; while Whitmarsh denigrates both Plutarch’s ‘very conservative vision of Greek identity in terms of a dialogue with the classical greats’, and his enthusiastic reception by modern classical scholars, as examples of a rigid and limited understanding of what the ‘Second Sophistic’ truly entails.⁹⁰² There is more to Plutarch, however, than his *Lives*, and just as Pausanias was to do during the second century AD, Plutarch provides unique evidence regarding the first-century cults, festivals, and games within Boiotia, and thus allows us to address the question of the nature of the ‘archaism’ seen during this period. Unfortunately, a wider context is lacking in which to place many of these snapshots, and it is impossible to be sure in most cases whether the rites mentioned by Plutarch and Pausanias are new creations, re-inventions, or survivals from earlier times. As this thesis has shown at length, in the Boiotian *agōnes* recreation and re-inauguration, after often long hiatuses, seems to have been the norm; the best that can be said for some of the festivals mentioned by these authors is that they show

⁸⁹⁸ Preston, 2001, 86-120.

⁸⁹⁹ *Paideia* can refer to both the system of education of the elites, and more generally as their shared cultural milieu – Preston, 2001, 89.

⁹⁰⁰ Refusal to leave Chaironeia – see his *Life of Demosthenes* 2.2. On priesthood, see Preston, 2001, 89. As Roman citizen – *FD* III 4.472 where he is named Mestrius Plutarch.

⁹⁰¹ Preston, 2001, 92. Reminiscent of Woolf’s ‘dynamic tension’ between the two cultures of Greece and Rome – Woolf, 1994, 135.

⁹⁰² Schmitz, 2014, 40; Whitmarsh, 2013, 3-4.

signs of late improvisation, if not necessarily late inauguration.⁹⁰³ In contrast, with the *agōnes* we are lucky to possess a long and relatively weighty dossier of evidence going back to the sixth century BC, which thus allows a more balanced picture of the nature of the changes introduced under Rome. While the view is necessarily incomplete, the focus narrow, it is to be hoped that the picture given by a study of the vicissitudes of the Boiotian *agōnes* is at least characteristic of the more general changes to the festivals and rites in Boiotia under Rome.

In the following sections I will look briefly at the evidence for economic decline during the period of Roman rule, separating the trope of decline from the reality of the economic situation. I will follow this discussion with an examination of the trends witnessed within the Boiotian *agōnes* during the first century BC, discussing especially the role played by prominent individuals in the re-imagination of several Boiotian *agones*, and the role played by the games in cementing a more stable and positive relationship to Rome while maintaining a link to the prestigious past.

6.2 Economic decline and the first-century AD *agōnes*

In *On the Obsolescence of Oracles*, Plutarch told how the oracles of Boiotia, once famously known as ‘many-voiced’ for their great number, had - with the exception of Trophonius at Lebadeia - by his time fallen silent (*de defec.* 411F). Strabo noted that in his own day (ca.62BC-AD 24) Thebes and other Boiotian *poleis* – with the exception of Thespiiai and Tanagra - were little more than villages (9.40.3), and during the second century AD Pausanias frequently gives an impression of travelling through a land of ruins.⁹⁰⁴ Larsen, no doubt correctly, rejected much of these accounts as rhetorical exaggeration; ruin-strewn Greece was, he argued, a literary trope, and need not be accepted without question.⁹⁰⁵ Rather, the trope of population decline - *oliganthrōpia* – was part of the more general obsession with past glory

⁹⁰³ In the next chapter I will discuss the evidence to Roman period changes to the Theban Daphnephoria, and the Daidala at Plataia.

⁹⁰⁴ Pausanias talks of ruins of Onchestos 9.26.5; Aspledon 9.38.9-10; Hysiai 9.2.1; Erythrai 9.2.1; Skolos 9.4.4; Glisas 9.19.2; and Harma and Mykalessos 9.19.4, though as Fossey has seen, some of these sites have yielded Roman evidence, though the presence of ruins does not discount some families still living there - Fossey, 1988, 445. Dio Chrysostom, a contemporary of Plutarch’s, mentioned in passing the desolation of other areas of mainland Greece (33.25); while Seneca wrote that ‘in [the Province of] Achaia, the foundations of the most famous cities had already crumbled to nothing, so that no trace is left to show that they had ever existed’ (*Epist.* 91.10).

⁹⁰⁵ Larsen, 1975, 476 and 469.

and comparison with present obscurity, a rhetorical stance which emerged primarily from the altered state and status of Greece under Rome.⁹⁰⁶ Yet while Greece was clearly no longer what it had been, at least in terms of Agelaos of Naupaktos' freedom to 'fight and make peace with one another whenever they so wanted', we need not take the pessimism of the rhetorical stance which took Greece to be a land of ruins and non-entities as universal.⁹⁰⁷

A close reading of the Plutarch passage, for example, reveals itself less a pessimistic rhetoric of decline under Rome than a sober account of oracular silence, in which his examples of disappearance are less dramatic than a cursory reading might otherwise suggest. The first of his illustrations, the oracle of Apollo at Tegyra, flourished, he tells us, only until the time of the Persian War: Roman activities clearly had little to do with its closure; the second, the oracle of Apollo Ptoios, we know to have been active in AD 37 alongside the renewed celebrations of the Ptoia, as will be discussed at length below; and the third, that of Amphiaraos at Oropos had been consulted by Sulla ca.87BC, while celebrations of the Amphiaraia and Romaia attested for the first century AD clearly suggest an active sanctuary.⁹⁰⁸ Pausanias speaks in the present tense of the actions required for a healing encounter with Amphiaraos in the second century AD, so we can presume that the oracular silence of Plutarch's day was a temporary occurrence.⁹⁰⁹ Plutarch's argument – at least as voiced by his speaker Demetrius – is not one of decline under Rome, nor of moral decay, or irreversible cultural decomposition; it is simply a pragmatic statement that the population of Greece was no longer large enough to sustain the levels of oracular practice it had once enjoyed (*de defec.* 8 (414A)):

τίνος γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθόν, ἐν Τηγύραις ὡς πρότερον εἶναι μαντεῖον, ἢ περὶ τὸ Πτῶιον ὅπου μέρος ἡμέρας ἐντυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων νέμοντι;

For who would profit if there were an oracle in Tegyra, as there used to be, or at Ptoion, where during some part of the day one might possibly meet a human being pasturing his flocks?⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁶ Alcock, 1993, 27.

⁹⁰⁷ Polybius 5.104.

⁹⁰⁸ Tegyra - *De defec.* 412C; Ptoion - *IG* VII 2711-2712; Amphiaraos - *IG* VII 413 [*IOropos* 308] and *SEG* 6.727c.

⁹⁰⁹ Paus. 1.34.5.

⁹¹⁰ Adapted from Babbitt, 1936, 373.

Population decline, more specifically rural population decline, during this period has been blamed - at least in part - on the economic downturn occasioned by the presence of Rome.⁹¹¹ Changes of land ownership and usage, plus the devastating effects of the Mithridatic and Roman Civil Wars all seem to have had an effect on the rural population, but the picture is a complex one, and it must be remembered that Polybius had been concerned by population decline back in the second century BC, at a time before the Romans could have played any possible role. Instead the historian placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Greeks themselves, in their failure to prioritize their own continuation through acts such as compulsory child-rearing (although the decrease of Macedonia he attributed to the wrath of the gods).⁹¹² In Boiotia, small towns were abandoned as people clustered into larger *poleis* such as Tanagra. We hear, for example, from Pausanias of the ruins of Mykalessos and Harma; of the few remaining inhabitants – all potters – of ancient Aulis; and how the land of all three was tilled by the people of Tanagra, evidence of *synoikism* which went hand in hand with the abandonment of rural settlement.⁹¹³ Such a pattern is clearly evident in the Boiotian archaeological record, where the evidence through the Hellenistic down into the Roman imperial period reveals a loss of almost a third of all settlements (a change characteristic of the whole of Greece), and a dramatic fall in rural cult sites.⁹¹⁴

Roman policy can be seen as at least partly responsible, for the change of land distribution radically affected patterns of living, worshipping, and remembering, with only the largest, oldest, or ‘most-charged’ rural cult places surviving.⁹¹⁵ Increased urbanization, nucleation, and a vast reduction in small-holdings (with a subsistence economy largely replaced in favour of a market economy, and large parts of the country becoming devoted exclusively to agriculture or herding) was to blame for this decline, while the abandonment of the countryside by small proprietors went hand in hand with a shift in land ownership in favour of the wealthy (a redistribution typical of a provincial setting) and the demise of smaller *poleis*.⁹¹⁶ Thus the rural

⁹¹¹ Larsen, 1975, 467, though c.f. Waterfield, 2014, 230. For decline in Polybius - 36.17.5.

⁹¹² Polybius 36.17.10-15. For the trope of decline in Polybius see Müller, 2013, 267-278.

⁹¹³ Paus. 9.19.18. I will discuss the evidence for this synoikism in respect of local cults at Tanagra in the next chapter.

⁹¹⁴ Fossey, 1988, 441. On the general decline in settlements in Greece see Polybius 34.17.5. See Figures 3 and 4 in the appendix. Farinetti's data includes the evidence for extra-mural cult sites, which along with decreasing settlement numbers reveals a dramatic downturn consistent with a loss of rural population during the Roman period. And while the data corroborates Polybius' pre-Roman decline, the evidence for cult sites, especially by the Late Roman period, reveals that the situation under Rome had deteriorated markedly.

⁹¹⁵ Alcock, 2002, 48-49.

⁹¹⁶ Alcock, 2002, 48-49 and 72; Waterfield, 2014, 231; Larsen, 1975, 467.

decline was in part the result of changing land-practice, rather than a loss of population *per se*.⁹¹⁷ The flipside of this nucleation was that in the larger *poleis* there was, in places, a subsequent population increase, something which may account for the continued success of those Boiotian games strongly linked to the individual *polis*.⁹¹⁸ The greater concentration of population may have increased the visibility and thus desirability of the *agōnes* as sources of elite prestige. It is during the first century AD especially that we begin to see an increasingly visibility of the role played by the wealthier elites and benefactors such as Epameinondas of Akraiphia.⁹¹⁹ Although these public acts of beneficence or euergetism were a common feature from the Hellenistic period onwards, and had roots much further back still to the aristocratic gift-exchange of Homeric and Archaic Greece, it was during the first and second centuries that the Greek world experienced a proliferation of elite public generosity unmatched in its previous or later history.⁹²⁰ Rather than a result of the weak economic and financial position of the provincial cities, as traditionally understood, Zuiderhoek has recently proposed that the exchange of gifts for honours between elite and non-elite citizens was a political mechanism designed to deflect the growing disparity of wealth and power within imperial *polis* society (the local landowning elites becoming ever richer and turning into ruling oligarchies), moving tensions away from open conflicts towards communal celebrations of shared citizenship.⁹²¹

Despite this euergetism, several Boiotian *agōnes* seem to have disappeared by this time, never to return. There is, for example, no evidence for the Soteria at Akraiphia after the first century BC; the Delia at Tanagra had disappeared long before the Mithridatic War; while the Charitesia and Homoloia at Orchomenos, whose competitors had come from the furthest reaches of the Greco-Roman world, vanish for good before the start of the first century AD, possible casualties of the general slump of the latter half of the first century BC and the

⁹¹⁷ Although the reduction in size at this time of *poleis* like Thespiiai, which went from 100 hectares to 72 hectares, points to the reality of a serious demographic collapse – see Alcock, 1993, 97; Bintliff, 1991. For we have to take into consideration the sometimes small size of the rural sites abandoned – rural farmsteads and maybe seasonal shelters – and remember that in Boiotia, Early and Late Roman rural sites were almost invariably several times larger than the average classical farm – Alcock, 1993, 54; Bintliff, 1991, 126.

⁹¹⁸ The evidence for large population increases is patchy. Fossey notes an increase in population at Plataia in imperial times, perhaps because of settlement from smaller villages, while the area of Tanagra may have experienced an overall reduction, possibly linked to the presence of large villa estates – see Fossey, 1988, 480-481 and n.11.

⁹¹⁹ At the same time communities of foreign negotiators – businessmen known as *Rhomaioi* – began to play an active part in the civic and religious life of places such as Thespiiai – Alcock, 2002, 45.

⁹²⁰ Zuiderhoek, 2009, 5.

⁹²¹ Zuiderhoek, 2009, 5, 10, 40-49, and 156. For an extensive bibliography of the older view see Zuiderhoek, 2009, 23 n.1.

⁹²¹ Alcock, 1993, 20-21.

financial strain of the Civil Wars.⁹²² The Sarapieia at Tanagra was also gone. Other festivals temporarily vanish from the epigraphic record only to reappear again in the second or third century AD – such as the Theban Agrionia, which was to undergo a thorough re-structuring, merging with the Herakleia to become the Dionyseia Herakleia of the second and third centuries AD, itself perhaps evidence of financial strain.⁹²³

Other games survived, many of these undergoing a Roman rebranding. The Ptoia was renamed the Megala Ptoia and Kaisareia through the auspices of Caligula; the Erotideia and Mouseia, (unsurprising given the Roman interest in these games from at least the first century BC and Thespiai's pro-Roman stance), became the Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia and Mouseia Sebasteia Julia during the first century AD. As for new games, only the Kaisareia at Tanagra (*IG* VII 1857) and the Kaisareia and [...] at Lebadeia (*IG* VII 3103) can be identified as such, although Knoepfler has suggested the latter as a rebranded Basileia.⁹²⁴ As I will discuss below and at length in the next chapter, these new games may have been local ephebic *agōnes*, examples of what was to become an increasingly important aspect of Boiotian agonistic life in the coming centuries.⁹²⁵

The rebranding of *agōnes* in the direction of imperial cult clearly reveals that obvious advantages were to be gained from attracting imperial attention and favour.⁹²⁶ The visibility of this engagement with imperial cult was central, for it demonstrated that individuals and cities were loyal to the emperor, and broadcast this message to other cities as well.⁹²⁷ For this, *agōnes* were an obvious medium, while other expressions of imperial cult equally favoured the most prominent and public locations: statues of Augustus, for example, were found in Thisbe, Thebes, Plataia, Koroneia, and Lebadeia; Thespiai boasted both statue and altar; and the Treasury of Minyas in Orchomenos, the site of a *hērōon* in the Hellenistic period, in Roman times housed an imperial cult statue.⁹²⁸ More importantly, the fostering of ties between the imperial and provincial governing elites resulted in a local elite ready and eager to demonstrate

⁹²² On financial troubles at Akraiphia see below at 6.3. The Delia was to return as an ephebic games in the third century AD – see 7.6.1.

⁹²³ If the *agōnothesia* of the Dio[...] and Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia (*IG* VII 2518) does not point to its existence already during the first century AD – see below. Schachter, however, suggests this as a reference to an otherwise unknown Dionyseia at Thespiai – Schachter, 1981, 195.

⁹²⁴ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1457-1459.

⁹²⁵ I will return to Schachter's proposed Dionysia at Thespiai below at 6.7.

⁹²⁶ Alcock, 1993, 181.

⁹²⁷ Alcock, 1993, 199.

⁹²⁸ Alcock, 1993, 182-183.

loyalty to Rome, with imperial cult becoming one of the major contexts in which the competitive spirit of local elites was worked out.⁹²⁹ Van Nijf and Williamson have argued that at this time a vertical dimension was added to the horizontal concerns (those of bringing cities and individuals together in competition with one another) expressed through the games, that being the relation with Rome.⁹³⁰ I would argue that this vertical dimension had been present throughout the history of the *agōnes*, representing the pinnacle of ambition or prestige with which the ruling elite could engage through their participation in the games. At times this was simply reputation within the *polis*; but some games had provided a pan-Boiotian stage on which to express prestige – such as the Mouseia and Ptoia, and the returning Pamboiotia and Basileia of the first century BC; still others had pan-Hellenic importance and might provide illustrious links with foreign monarchs. Yet ‘ambition’ is perhaps the wrong word with which to label such actions. ‘Ambition’ suggests egotism, a ruthlessness which casts the adoption of Roman epithets for the Boiotian *agōnes* as acts of toadyism or obsequiousness towards their foreign masters in the hope of gaining favour. Ambition and advancement were doubtless important motives, but it is a jaundiced vision which imagines these were the only ones. As Price has argued, the scepticism with which such acts have often been judged – as the acts of an elite wishing to flatter Rome, with no popular resonance or local importance – ignores the fact that these were festivals of considerable local civic pride.⁹³¹ Pride, not ambition, is the better word, and its use restructures our view of what was happening in these constructive engagements of Greek tradition and imperial cult, where the presence of the latter ought not to lessen the former, but rather the importance of the former ought to make us reconsider the seriousness and depth of the Greeks’ engagement with the latter. After two hundred years of Roman domination, Rome was becoming a source of pride. If these Greek and Roman identities remained somewhat separate, two sides of the same coin as Whitmarsh has it, then the *agōnes* were a means of bringing these two sides together.⁹³²

⁹²⁹ Alcock, 1993, 198-199; Price, 1986, 100; 126-132.

⁹³⁰ Van Nijf and Williamson, 2015, 108.

⁹³¹ Price, 1986, 101; Price gives as a negative example Bayet, 1957, 190-191. Whitmarsh, dubious of this spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm for foreign domination by the wealthy elites, emphasizes instead the experience of interconnectedness as part of a single great empire which those who witnessed or participated in these rebranded games and festivals must have felt – Whitmarsh, 2010, 7.

⁹³² Whitmarsh, 2010, 10.

6.3 Epameinondas of Akraiphia and the revival of the Ptoia

Many of the problems which need to be addressed in any examination of the *agōnes* of the first century AD emerge quite naturally from a consideration of a particularly interesting dossier of inscriptions dating from AD 37, these being the records of the actions of one Epameinondas son of Epameinondas of Akraiphia in regards to his activities on behalf of the Boiotian League as an ambassador to Rome, and his involvement with various acts of benevolence towards his native *polis* (*IG* VII 2711, 2712). Of interest for our topic, these latter acts included the revival of the local agonistic Ptoia. This dossier can be further expanded to include Epameinondas' inscribing of Nero's proclamation of Greek freedom (AD 66/67) on a large marble stele in his home town – the only copy of this momentous document we still have.⁹³³ As a whole, these inscriptions allow us a glimpse into the various roles played by this prominent individual in bringing Boiotian – and particularly Akraiphian – religious affairs to the wider attention of Rome.

The first inscription (*IG* VII 2711), carved into a stele of local grey limestone, was described by Leake as serving as a jamb of a door on the north side of the church of Ag. Giorgios at Akraiphia, where it is still to be found (Figure 25).⁹³⁴ It records a series of correspondences surrounding the sending of an embassy by members of the Pan-Achaian League – a unified body representing the Achaians, Boiotians, Lokrians, Phokians and Euboians, and which during the time of Tiberius acted as the nearest thing to a Provincial assembly – to Rome, to celebrate the accession of Caligula in AD 37.⁹³⁵ The inscription can be divided into the following sections: a letter of the *stratēgos* of the Pan-Achaian League (ll.1-14); a decree of the League at assembly (ll.15-20); a letter from Caligula to the League (ll.21-42); a letter of secretary to archons at Akraiphia (ll.43-50); a letter of the Boiotian League and secretary to the archons at Akraiphia (ll.51-55); a decree of *naopoioi* at the festival of Pamboiotia (ll.55-77); a letter of the archons, council and demos of Thebes to the archons,

⁹³³ Graf, 2015, 19.

⁹³⁴ Leake, 1835, 301.

⁹³⁵ On this super-League, see Larsen, 1975, 450. This is almost the same list – with Achaians in place of Dorians – as listed on the statue (*IG* II2 4114) found at Athens of M. Junius Silanus the pro-quaestor of Mark Antony – see above 5.5.

council and demos of Akraiphia (Il.78-87); a decree of acceptance from the Thebans (Il.87-124); and a decree from other Boiotian cities (Il.125-128).⁹³⁶

From the inscriptions, it becomes clear that being unable to afford to send an embassy to Rome with the other members, the Boiotians had opted instead to drop out of the Pan-Achaian League, only for Epameinondas of Akraiphia to step forward and foot the bill (Il.97-100). This detail is telling in its contrast between the wealth of the organs of the Boiotian League at this time, and that of private individuals. This embassy was only the beginnings of Epameinondas' generosity. The full extent of his munificence was recorded on an honorary decree to Epameinondas set up by the grateful Akraiphians, carved into a large block of grey limestone (*IG VII 2712*), two fragments of which are still to be found built into the exterior of the south wall of the Ag. Giorgios.⁹³⁷ First we learn of Epameinondas' innovations and benefactions connected with an athletic *agōn* (Il.22-23):⁹³⁸

πάλιν τε τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν θεῶν ταυροθυτήσας Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἡρα[κ]λεῖ κα[ὶ] τοῖς
Σεβα[σ]τοῖς ἀγῶν[α] γ[υμ]νικόν

... and again after sacrificing a bull to Hermes and Herakles and to the Emperors, at the festival of these gods, an athletic *agōn*⁹³⁹

As the Ptoia is later described as thymelic, this athletic *agōn* seems to be something different. It is possible that this athletic *agōn* replaced the former *Soteria*, which had disappeared by this time, but the lack of any mention of a sacrifice to Zeus *Soter* seems to rule out such identification. Equally, the mention of the typically ephebic deities, Hermes and Herakles, suggests an ephebic *agōn* which Epameinondas now linked to imperial cult.⁹⁴⁰ For this athletic *agōn* Epameinondas funded new prizes including shields (ἀσπιδῆα Il. 23-24), and a luxurious banquet, accommodating even visiting strangers along with free children and the slaves of citizens (Il. 25-33).⁹⁴¹ Next, he spent 6,000 denarii rebuilding and re-plastering the

⁹³⁶ Summary from Oliver, 1971, 222. The Pan-Achaian League represented mainland Greek interests towards the Roman governor and emperor - Graf, 2011, 108.

⁹³⁷ Oliver, 1971, 225. See also *SEG* 58-433 and Chaniotis, 2008, 67-87.

⁹³⁸ Text from Oliver, 1971, 226-229.

⁹³⁹ Trans. Oliver, 1971, 233.

⁹⁴⁰ If, of course, the *agōn* can be linked to the festival just mentioned. On the growing importance of ephebic games, especially with an imperial bias, see Chapter Seven, especially 7.7.

⁹⁴¹ C.f. *SEG* 30.1073; *ISestos* 1 ll. 79-83.

great dike which protected Akraiphia from Lake Kopais (Il.33-37).⁹⁴² This stele also mentions his undertaking of the embassy to Caligula on behalf of the Boiotian League, and his magnanimity in paying for it. More importantly, we then learn of his re-organization of the lapsed Ptoia (Il.55-59):

... ἐγ[λε]λοιπό-
 τος γὰρ ἤδη τριάκοντα ἔτη τοῦ τῶν Πτωίων ἀγῶνος κατασταθὶς ἀγωνοθέ-
 της προθυμότητα ἐπεδέξατο φιλοδοξήσας τὸ ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχα[ι]-
 ότητα τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τῶν μεγάλων Πτωίων καὶ Καισαρήων κτίστης ἄνωθε
 γενόμενος: ...

For when he was appointed *agōnothetēs*, after the contest of the Ptoia had been omitted for thirty years, he most eagerly took it upon himself in the hope of renewing creditably the ancient splendour of the contest, and he became all over again founder of the Great Ptoia and Kaisareia⁹⁴³

In this way, he became the founder of the Megala Ptoia and Kaisareia, and ‘upon assuming the office carried out the sacrifices and the oracles of the god’ (l.59). This latter consideration begs the question of whether the *oracle* had lapsed along with the *agōn*, for we know from Plutarch that by his time – a few decades after this inscription – the Ptoion had fallen silent.⁹⁴⁴ Again we note the hint of organizational austerity even beside the opulence of Epameinondas himself. As for the renaming of the games as the Ptoia and Kaisareia, as Graf states, such expansion of traditional events to include the imperial cult was almost standard in this epoch, especially where initiative and funding came from a citizen with strong ties to the imperial administration.⁹⁴⁵ So these games were renamed to honour the new emperor Caligula, the *agōn* therefore becoming a visible meeting place of the traditional and the new; an expression of a continually developing Boiotian identity under Rome.

The Ptoia was held every six years, with Epameinondas funding magnificent annual banquets in the years in-between and in the year of the games, giving all citizens, residents,

⁹⁴² SEG 22.425; cf. 32.1638). Lauffer argues that the dike repaired Epameinondas (Il.33-37) existed already in the late fourth century BC - Lauffer, 1986, 135-137; cf. SEG 36.422.

⁹⁴³ Adapted from Oliver, 1971, 234. The celebration when Nikomachos was prophet (IG VII 4147), if we follow Schachter and Muller’s lower dating, could be imagined to have occurred around thirty years before Epameinondas’ revival.

⁹⁴⁴ See Graf, 2015, 19; Plut. *De defec.* 8 (414A).

⁹⁴⁵ Graf, 2011, 108.

and alien property-holders a basket of grain and a half-jug of wine each, on top of providing further meals during the festival – Epameinondas hosting the sons of the citizens and male slaves of age, his wife Kotila entertaining their wives and the maidens and female slaves of age. More importantly he ‘carried out the great ancestral processions and the ancestral dance of the trailing costumes’ (τὴν τῶν συρτῶν πάτριον | ὄρχησιν - ll. 66/67). This reveals the particular attention he paid to local traditions and peculiarities, and is an important detail, such dances being very rarely written of.⁹⁴⁶

Were these ‘ancestral dances’ – and no doubt many of the other details not here recorded – a revival or re-imagination? The games had not been celebrated for thirty years before Epameinondas took up the *agōnothesia* (l.56), and even if this figure was itself only an estimation, it begs the question of how authentic these restored dances could have been. Yet the accuracy of the restoration is not the real issue here, so much as the *perceived* continuation of past tradition.⁹⁴⁷ The past was, after all, a valuable commodity, and could be manipulated at will by the civic elite of the Greek cities.⁹⁴⁸ As Kennell has noted, men such as Epameinondas of Akraiphia looked to their own histories as both a means of establishing their own legitimacy in a much changed world, and as a means of framing their contemporary lives.⁹⁴⁹ Such creative and pragmatic manipulations and re-imaginings must have been a staple of Greek festivals from the very beginning, but what was important was the perceived continuity with a glorious past, and a consequent lifting up of the present thereby.

Returning to the Ptoia, we learn that the festival was thymelic, and that Epameinondas provided sweet wine in the theatre for all the local spectators and those who had come from neighbouring cities (παροίκοις – ll.64-65), where he also handed out valuable presents. As a result of all these acts the archons, councillors, and *demos* honoured him with a gold crown and a bronze portrait, and he was given a front seat at every subsequent games; portraits in bronze or marble were also to be set up, one at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, the other in the city in the agora, and likewise gilded portraits with the following inscription, ‘The *demos* and

⁹⁴⁶ For a possible parallel, see Petzl, 1982, no.654, who records a decree of two sisters who financed a girls’ dance of an unnamed mystery cult, most likely Demeter or Dionysus. See also Graf, 2011, 109 n.21. Graf interprets these *syrtoi* as ‘those in long trailing robes’ or a ‘trailing’ or ‘drawn out’ dance of people holding each other’s hands, and is tempted to see a dance reminiscent of the whirling dervishes of Konya - Graf, 2015, 19.

⁹⁴⁷ As Graf states, it was simply important that there was a perceived link with tradition, rather than there existing a completely accurate reconstruction - Graf, 2011, 109.

⁹⁴⁸ Graf, 2011, 109.

⁹⁴⁹ Kennell, 1995, 84.

council (honoured) Epameinondas son of Epameinondas, for an excellent and most just performance as citizen and public official’ (ὁ δῆμος κ[αὶ] ἡ βουλὴ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἄριστα πολειτευσάμενον [ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας] - II.104-105); lastly, an engraved copy of this decree was to be set up at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios and in the agora of the city of Akraiphia, this latter presumably being the stone mentioned earlier as plundered for the walls of the church of Ag. Giorgios. The gratitude of the Akraiphians for his munificence highlights the importance of the financial contributions such men made, a reminder of the relative poverty of Boiotia at the time. Even after Epameinondas’ generosity in AD 37, the naming of Zeus as eponymous archon of Akraiphia for at least three years running around the middle of the century suggests to Schachter that Akraiphia could find no-one else to fill the role – hardly what one would expect of a booming *polis*.⁹⁵⁰

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀκρηφίοις

Διὸς Σωτῆρος

To Good Fortune, during the archonship in Akraiphia of Zeus *Soter*

The fortunes of the Ptoia – and presumably the oracle of Apollo Ptoios – no doubt fluctuated along with the fortunes of Akraiphia. As I discussed in the previous chapter, evidence for the *agōn* is found for the first half of the first century BC (*IG* VII 4148 may date as early as 100BC), but it is possible that the games suffered at the end of the first century BC, as there is no unquestionable evidence for them after 50BC.⁹⁵¹ Yet Epameinondas’ recreation ‘after thirty years’ (*IG* VII 2712, l.56) suggests a celebration sometime around the turn of the century, even if we do not take his figure entirely at face value. Plutarch’s assertion that in his day (ca.AD 79-87) the sanctuary was virtually deserted suggests that it had fallen upon hard times once again after Epameinondas.⁹⁵²

The mention of ‘neighbouring cities’ (*IG* VII 2712 ll.64-65) reveals that once again a prominent citizen of Akraiphia was involving himself with the wider Boiotian community. This

⁹⁵⁰ Schachter, 2016, 134. Hard times at Akraiphia – see Robert *BCH*, 1935b, 438-452; *SEG* 15.330; and Schachter, 1994, 95.

⁹⁵¹ See the family tree of Theomnestos above at 5.4 for differing dates of the events involved.

⁹⁵² Plut. *de defec.* 8 (414A) Plutarch only mentions the oracle, not the games, but the oracle and sacrifices mentioned in *IG* VII 2712 suggest that the two were closely linked. Dating of *de defec.* to AD 79-87 - Ogilvie, 1967, 119.

wider Boiotian interest – such as will be seen with his actions concerning the Pamboiotia below - is especially reminiscent of the central position held by the Akraiphian family of Theomnestos from the first century BC, whose active involvement at the Ptoia, Basileia, and Pamboiotia were discussed in the previous chapter. Whether Akraiphia enjoyed a privileged role within Boiotia at this time is unclear: the evidence is limited to the involvement of these prominent individuals, and there is little else to suggest Akraiphia's ascendancy at this time. But Akraiphia had once held a preeminent position within Boiotia, thanks to the oracle that advised the *koinon*, and to the Ptoia which, (although run by Akraiphia), had always enjoyed a pan-Boiotian status reserved otherwise only for the Basileia and Pamboiotia.⁹⁵³ The actions of Epameinondas might therefore be read as an attempt to regain something of this ancient prestige, or that enjoyed under the family of Theomnestos, and his interactions with the emperors, his embassy to Caligula, and his intercession with Nero should be viewed in a similar light.⁹⁵⁴ On 28th November AD 67, in a speech delivered at Corinth, the philhellenic Nero declared a return of ancient freedom to mainland Greece, the Province of Achaia being proclaimed free and immune from tribute.⁹⁵⁵ Epameinondas was by this time high priest of provincial imperial cult, as he is so named at the end of the decree he set up recording Nero's freedom for the Greeks (*IG VII 2713 ll.27-29*):

ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου καὶ Νέρωνος
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδας
Ἐπαμεινώνδου εἶπεν·

The chief priest for life of the Emperors, and of the Emperor Caesar Claudius Nero, Epameinondas son of Epameinondas said...

Epameinondas had the text of Nero's decree inscribed upon two stelai, one on the agora of Akraiphia next to an altar of Nero Zeus *Eleutherios* – which stood beside the old altar Zeus *Soter* – the other 'in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios' - ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωΐου

⁹⁵³ The presence of prominent Athenians dedicating at the Ptoion during the sixth century BC also points to an elevated position.

⁹⁵⁴ Graf, 2015, 22.

⁹⁵⁵ Larsen, 1975, 438-439. Nero's decree was shortly revoked under Vespasian – see Paus. 7.17.4.

(Il.57-58).⁹⁵⁶ Once again his actions demonstrate the pivotal role played by the civic elites of this time as mediators between the interests of the Greeks and the power structures of Rome.⁹⁵⁷

6.4 The Pamboiotia at Koroneia

The doorway inscription which records Epameinondas' embassy to Caligula (*IG* VII 2711) also includes the record of the dedication by the Akraiphian of a painting set upon a gilded shield to be set up 'in the temple of Athena Itonia' ([ἐν τῷ ν]αῷ τῆς Εἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς – l.73). Earlier in the same inscription we also find mentioned a decree of the *naopoioi* made during a celebration of the Pamboiotia concerning the acts of Epameinondas on behalf of the *koinon* (Il.55-56).⁹⁵⁸

ἔδοξε τοῖς σύνπα-

[σ]ι ναοποιοῖς ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν Παμβοιωτίων·

It was decreed by all the *naopoioi* in the *panēgyris* of the Pamboiotia ...

As I discussed in the previous chapter, several incomplete victor lists suggest a return of the Pamboiotia ca.60BC, and a continuation down to the turn of the century.⁹⁵⁹ In *IG* VII 2711 we witness again the quasi-political role of the pan-Boiotian *agōn*, whose celebration allowed a coming together of the wider Boiotian community, the presence of the *naopoioi* as decision-makers proof of Koroneia's central role in the burgeoning *koinon* of this time.⁹⁶⁰ Once again, in a time of political and military impotence, the celebration of the Boiotian festivals and *agōnes* must be viewed as the most important medium for expressing Boiotian identity, with their organization providing the opportunity for collective decision making on the part of the *koinon*, whose remit was now clearly limited to the religious.⁹⁶¹

⁹⁵⁶ Graf, 2015, 22.

⁹⁵⁷ Graf, 2011, 110.

⁹⁵⁸ For the inscription see Oliver, 1971, 221ff; Graf, 2011, 107-110.

⁹⁵⁹ See *IG* VII 1764 ca.60BC; *IG* VII 2871 dated to last third of the first century BC or later - Müller 2014, 128-129. But compare Strabo, who tells us that at Koroneia the Pamboiotia 'used to be celebrated' - ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὰ Παμβοιώτια συντέλουν (9.2.29) – implying a lack in his own time. Here again we may be seeing evidence of a somewhat punctuated pattern of celebration seen elsewhere.

⁹⁶⁰ Plutarch suggests something similar in his story of the Boiotian Kallirhoe (*Nar Am* 4 [774E-775E]) who waited until the festival of the Pamboiotia to demand justice against her thirty suitors, as if the judicial functions of the collective Boiotians were somehow linked to the celebration of the games.

⁹⁶¹ See Müller, 2014, 129.

We know from Pausanias that during the second century AD the Boiotian *koinon* was still meeting at Koroneia (9.34.1), and an inscription from Chaironeia found on a statue to the priestess Flavia Laneika and dedicated by her son, the Boiotarch Cn. Curtius Dexippos, pushes this existence well into the third century AD (*IG VII 3426*):⁹⁶²

Φλαβίαν Λανείκαν τὴν ἀρχιέρειαν
διὰ βίου τοῦ τε κοινοῦ Βοιωτῶν τῆς
Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς...

Flavia Laneika, priestess for life of Athena Itonia and the Boiotian *koinon*

It is unclear if the Pamboiotia continued to be celebrated throughout this entire period; from AD 37 to Pausanias (fl. AD 160-180) and further still to the third-century AD Flavia Laneika is quite a gap, but Plutarch's comment that the Pamboiotia was well known to his readers may help bridge some of it.⁹⁶³ Another first-century AD inscription which may concern the Pamboiotia is the *apologia* of the secretary of the *naopoioi* Nikarchos of Chaironeia (*SEG* 38.380), originally believed by Feyel to have come from Lebadeia, but which Knoepfler has convincingly argued to be a private Chaironeian copy of a federal document concerning an unnamed games dating to the early imperial period up to AD 100.⁹⁶⁴ Knoepfler has more recently proposed that the accounts in the text are to be linked to a Theban sanctuary, as the Theban archon Kallon is also named alongside the Chaironeian archon Leonidas, but Müller prefers a link to the Pamboiotia (as do I), pointing out that the Theban archon is named simply because the missing secretary (*epimelētas*) of the *panēgyris* was Theban, something Knoepfler himself originally noted.⁹⁶⁵

⁹⁶² See also *SEG* 36.416. The inscription is variously dated anywhere between AD 200-300, Fossey giving the later date - Fossey, 1986, 258-9. Schachter presumably accepts the earlier, for he suggests that Flavia Laneika may have been the very priestess Pausanias speaks of in his tale of the daily lighting the flame for Iodama - Paus. 9.34.2 - see Schachter, 1981, 126 n.3. On Iodama, see below at 7.4. Schachter places it to beginning of the third century AD - see Schachter, 2016, 142 n.17.

⁹⁶³ Plut. *Nar. Am.* 4 (774E-775E) - see Schachter, 1981, 126. Even if this is not Plutarch, it was probably contemporary with him - see Fowler, 1936, 10.

⁹⁶⁴ Knoepfler, 1988, 263-294. Lebadeia - Feyel, 1942a, 79-87. The mention of denarii in the text means maybe as the Denarius appeared in Greece only from time of Augustus - see Giovannini, 1978, 27-29.

⁹⁶⁵ Knoepfler, 2008-2009, 702; Müller, 2014, 128; Theban secretary - Knoepfler, 1988, 280. The pan-Boiotian nature of the officials seems suggestive of the Pamboiotia.

6.5 The Basileia at Lebadeia

Plutarch does not seem to have been aware of games at Lebadeia, either under the name Basileia or Trophonia.⁹⁶⁶ That an *agōn* at Lebadeia was in existence during the first century AD is, however, well attested from several inscriptions. A dedication from Larisa in Thessaly (*IG* IX2 614a), which Knoepfler dates to the early imperial period, records the victory of an unknown athlete ‘at the Basileia beside the Herkynna’ (εἰς ὃ παρ’ Ἑρκύννα Βασιλήϊος).⁹⁶⁷ From the time of Augustus, however, through to that of the Severans, attribution of the dedications to either the Basileia or the Trophoneia (as the latter *agōn* is spelt from this time forward in the inscriptions) becomes more difficult, as no text reveals the name of the games. An Athenian dedication (*IG* II² 3158) records the victory of herald, Onetor, at ‘spacious Lebadeia’ (εὐρύχορος Λε[βάδεια]).⁹⁶⁸ Another, from Delos, refers to the victory for the herald Zenobius ‘beside the stream of the Herkynna’ – (ἐφ’ Ἑρκύννας χε[ύμασι).⁹⁶⁹ Nonetheless it is Knoepfler’s belief that these unnamed games were the Basileia, and that with the abolishment of the Boiotian *koinon* (ca. AD 230-240), they were once again replaced by the Lebadeian-led Trophoneia, which continued to take place until sometime after AD 260.⁹⁷⁰ For the first century AD however, little can be said other than that the *agōn* continued in a form familiar to the earlier celebrations, although the absence of complete victor lists allows little to be said about the health or geographical scope of the *agōn* at this time. One might guess, however, that the increasing importance of Trophonius during this period guaranteed a large audience and a continued celebration of the *agōn*.⁹⁷¹

Another *agōn* at Lebadeia is also attested ca. AD 14-23, on the dedication of a statue of Drusus Junior, the son of the emperor Tiberius, by Skylax, son of Sosikrates (possibly from

⁹⁶⁶ The closest he comes is a mention of a procession to Zeus Basileus, which may of course have occurred on a number of non-agonistic occasions (Plut. *Nat. Amat.* 772A).

⁹⁶⁷ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1457.

⁹⁶⁸ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1456.

⁹⁶⁹ *IDelos* 2552, l.12. Text from *SEG* 19.532.

⁹⁷⁰ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1462. Schachter designates them as belonging to the Trophoneia – ‘since the only agon at Lebadeia named on imperial inscriptions is the Trophoneia, I should think that these belonged there’ - Schachter, 1994, 117. Other inscriptions include *SEG* 14.421 (*FD* III 1.550) victory of aulete at Τροφώνεια ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ; *SEG* 14.422 (*FD* III 1.555) victory at Τροφώνεια Ὀλύμπια ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ - Trophoneia Olympia, AD 250 - Schachter thinks this additional Olympia is an attempt to elevate the status of the games – Schachter, 1986, 30 n.1; *IG* VII 49 Megara – unnamed victory at Trophoneia in Lebadeia; *IG* II².3169-3170 (AD 253-257) – victory of herald. The inscription *SEG* 36.263 showing [Τροφώνεια ἐν Λεβ]αδείᾳ and previously dated to the second century AD, Knoepfler now dates to mid-third century BC – Knoepfler, 2008b, 1459 n.132.

⁹⁷¹ I will discuss the interest in personal religious experience and mystery traditions during this period in the following chapter.

Thisbe), where we learn of an *agōnothetēs* of the ‘Kaisareia and [...]’.⁹⁷² We know of imperial cult at Lebadeia from another inscription (*IG* VII 3107), on the base of a statue of a priestess, and again dated to the Roman imperial period, mentioning the Empress Julia, identified by Schachter as Livia.⁹⁷³ Equally, a later inscription from the second or third century AD (*IG* VII 3106) refers to an *agōnothetēs* of the Emperors (*Sebastoi*). The exact nature of these games is unclear. No obvious connection can be seen to the Basileia or Trophoneia – although Knoepfler has suggested that the word Basileia ought to be placed in the missing line of text of the Drusus statue, *IG* VII 3103, the imperial ‘Kaisareia’ being of course added to a number of Boiotian *agōnes* of this period.⁹⁷⁴ Alternatively, it is possible that one or other of these *agōnes* were ephebic, although unfortunately the inscriptions are all fragmentary and so contain no corroborating evidence. As will be seen in the next chapter, a number of ephebic games are known from Tanagra connected to imperial cult, and we must remember the unnamed *agōn* at Akraiphia, seemingly instituted by Epameinondas and mentioned above in the section on the Ptoia (*IG* VII 2712 ll.22-23), with its sacrifices to the Emperors and a link to the usual gods of the ephebes – Herakles and Hermes. That the ‘Kaisareia and [...]’ of Lebadeia was another such games is a distinct possibility, and one might imagine a link to either Zeus or the local hero/god Trophonius.

6.6 *Agōnes* at Thespiiai – the Erotideia and Mouseia

As it had during the first century BC, Thespiiai continued to thrive under Roman patronage during the first century AD. Augustus’ general, T. Statilius Taurus, and members of his family retained connections (and probably estates) at Thespiiai well into the first century AD and became the patrons of the local Thespian aristocracy who preserved some of the city’s old cults and continued to give life to the Mouseia and the Erotideia.⁹⁷⁵ Plutarch himself knew the games well and speaks of them in his *Amatores* (748F):

⁹⁷² *IG* VII 3103. Schachter, 1981, 208. For Skylax as a citizen of Thisbe, see *ibid.* n.1. The *terminus ante quem* of 23BC is based, I presume, on the death of Drusus.

⁹⁷³ See *SEG* 31.409; Schachter, 1981, 208, n. 2.

⁹⁷⁴ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1457-1459.

⁹⁷⁵ Schachter, 2016, 137-138.

Ἐν Ἑλικῶνι παρὰ ταῖς Μούσαις, ὃ Φλαουιανέ, τὰ Ἑρωτίδεια Θεσπιέων ἀγόντων
ἄγουσι γὰρ ἀγῶνα πενταετηρικόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ τῷ Ἑρωτι φιλοτίμως
πάνυ καὶ λαμπρῶς.

Yes, Flavian, it was on Helikon in the shrine of the Muses while the people of Thespiai were celebrating the Erotideia. This they do every four years in honour of Eros, just as they do for the Muses, with great zeal and splendour.⁹⁷⁶

A little later the narrator Autoboulos tells his listeners that his father went up to Helikon because the kitharodes were arguing in Thespiai (*Amatores* 749C):

Δύο μὲν οὖν ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας κατὰ πόλιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡσυχῇ πῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἐν ταῖς παλαιστραῖς καὶ διὰ τῶν θεάτρων ἀλλήλοις συνῆσαν· ἔπειτα φεύγοντες ἀργαλέον ἀγῶνα κιθαρωδῶν, ἐντεύξεσι καὶ σπουδαῖς προειλημμένον, ἀνέζευξαν οἱ πλείους ὥσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας εἰς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα καὶ κατηylίσαντο παρὰ ταῖς Μούσαις.

Now they passed, it seems, the first two or three days in the city, indulging mildly between spectacles in learned conversation in the theatre. After that, routed by a stubborn feud among the kitharists which was preceded by appeals for support and enlisting of partisans, most of the visitors decamped from the hostile territory and bivouacked on Helicon as guests of the Muses.⁹⁷⁷

This is of interest for those concerned with the nature of the Erotideia, for Plutarch appears to be suggesting that there were musical contests at what are otherwise known up to this moment as purely athletic games.⁹⁷⁸ During the second century Pausanias too describes musical contests at the Erotideia (9.31.3). It is unclear, then, if this represents a change in the earlier division of events at the games, or if the contests undertaken in the two distinctive *agōnes* have been accidentally confused by the authors, the near or actual simultaneity of the two pentaeteric festivals lying behind this confusion. A number of inscriptions record the two *agōnes* separately, some for example listing victors in the Mouseia only, others for the

⁹⁷⁶ Trans. Hembold, 1961, 307.

⁹⁷⁷ Trans. Hembold, 1961, 309.

⁹⁷⁸ Purely athletic victors are known from the second century AD, such as *IG* VII 1769 – victory list Thespiai – Roman imperial period – stadion, diaulos, boxing; *IG* VII 1770 – stadion men, pentathlon; *SEG* 3.335 – Thebes, victors list for Erotideia – Pyth/Isth/men/beardless for each of dolichos, stadion, diaulos, pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, pankration, then hoplite race and horse race with colt, and horse race to end; similar list for *SEG* 3.336.

Erotideia, such as that which chronicles the victory of the later Emperor Tiberius in the chariot race of the Erotideia (*SEG* 22.385=*IThesp* 188 ll.1, 76-77) ca.6 BC- AD 2:⁹⁷⁹

[----- Ερωτιδήων]καὶ Ρωμαίων

...

ἄρματι πωλ[ι]κῷ Τιβέριος

[Κλαύδιος] Τιβ[ε]ρ[ι]ου Κλαυδίου υἱός

... Erotideia and Kaisareia... in the chariot colt race, Claudius Tiberius, son of Claudius⁹⁸⁰

Other inscriptions reveal the two games to have been the concern of a single *agōnothetēs*. Two dedications (*BCH* 26 (1902) 298.18 and 299.19 – *IThesp* 376, 377) dated to no later than the rule of the first emperors both name single individuals as *agōnothetai* of the ‘Erotideia and Kaisareia and Mouseia and Sebasteia Julia.’ How exactly to read this list of *agōnes* is unclear, and the most likely arrangement is to imagine two separate games, the Erotideia Kaisareia, and the Mouseia Sebasteia Julia, rather than four *agōnes* or even one conjoined super-*agōn*.⁹⁸¹ This separation is best suggested by the adjective ‘δῖς’ which appears after the mention of the Mouseia in another *apologia* (*BCH* 50 (1926) 432.62 – *IThesp* 405), which records the *agōnothetēs* of the ‘Erotideia and Kaisareia, and ‘of the Mouseia twice’ - Μουσείων δὲ δῖς (l.3).⁹⁸² Again the complex of names reveals the continuing effort to associate these illustrious games with imperial cult.⁹⁸³

In addition, Roesch has suggested that the Erotideia and Mouseia were temporarily united for a period during the first century AD before being separated again.⁹⁸⁴ His evidence comes

⁹⁷⁹ Mouseia only - *SEG* 3.334 (*IThesp* 177); *IG* VII 1774 (*IThesp* 176); 1775 (*IThesp* 184); 1776 (*IThesp*. 80). The games are here rendered with the epithets Megala Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia. For the date, see Schachter, 1994, 27 n.7 and *SEG* 44.420.

⁹⁸⁰ Son of Tiberius Claudius Nero – the inscription must predate his adoption by Augustus of AD 4, and probably between 6 BC and AD 2, the dates of his sojourn in Rhodes – see Roesch *IThesp* 188.

⁹⁸¹ See Jamot, 1902, 299 for rejection of four separate games.

⁹⁸² On separation see Schachter, 1986, 174. In *BCH* 26 (1902) 299.19 the ‘δῖς’ is ambiguous and it is not clear if the games were truly separate – see Schachter, *ibid*.

⁹⁸³ The *apologia* of the *agōnothetēs* Lysander son of Polykrates of Thebes (*IG* VII 2517) names the games Καίσαρήων Ἐρωτιδίων Ῥωμαίων – Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia – as does *IG* VII 2518; the presence of a Theban *agōnothetēs* again highlights the continued pan-Boiotian nature of the games. *BCH* 50 (1926) 431.61 – *IThesp* 358) records the *apologia* of the *agōnothetēs* of the Mouseia Sebasteia and the Erotideia Kaisareia, although his ethnic is not given.

⁹⁸⁴ Roesch, 1979, 2-3 (*Teiresias* E.79.01).

from a victor list (*IThesp* 175) which seems to name victors from both the Erotideia and Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia, although the reading of Mouseia is itself unclear:

ἀγωνοθετοῦντ[ος τῶν Ἑρωτιδίων]?
καὶ Καισαρῶν Σεβασ[τήων Μουσειῶν ?]⁹⁸⁵

agōnothetēs of the Erotideia and Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia

This list records first victors of the thymelic competition - [ἐ]νίκων τὸν θυμελικόν (l.7) - naming a victorious trumpeter, herald, an *enkōmiographos* to Eros and another to the Muses, alongside an aulete and a kitharist; then come the victors in the athletic events - Ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνικῷ (l.17) – winners of the dolichos, stadion, diaulos, wrestling, boxing, and pankration.⁹⁸⁶ Given Sebasteia as the usual epithet linked to the Mouseia from this time, a mixed Mouseia and Erotideia seems an appropriate guess, but Moretti, and more recently Manieri, have argued that the inscription refers to the Erotideia alone, which from this time – as correctly described by Plutarch - contained musical as well as athletic events.⁹⁸⁷ The list, for example, can be contrasted unfavourably with a contemporary list for the Mouseia (*IThesp* 175 ca. AD 14 - 20), whose competitions include those for herald, epic poet, *enkōmiographos* (composer of *enkōmia* or songs of praise) to the Empress Julia (Livia) as Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses, and to Taurus and Messalinos, the existence of a separate list for the Mouseia itself re-iterating the two games' separation at this time.⁹⁸⁸

[ἐγκωμιογρά]φος εἰς Σεβαστὴν Ἰουλίαν Μνημο-
σύνην
[- - - -] Ἡρακλείτου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς·
ἐγκωμιογράφος εἰς Ταῦρον
[- - - -] Μουσαίου ν Ἀθηναῖος
ἐγκωμιογράφος εἰς Μούσας

⁹⁸⁵ Text from *SEG* 29.452.

⁹⁸⁶ *IG* VII 1856 and 1857, the catalogue of victories of the athlete Neikogenes from the first century AD, names a victory in the Erotideia, revealing that the games were separate from the Mouseia at least at the time of his victory.

⁹⁸⁷ Moretti, 1981, 74; Manieri, 2009, 428-430. Erotideia - Moretti, 1981, 74. Another inscription from the second or third century AD (*IG* VII 1772=*IThesp* 191) has an equally odd mixture, naming one Homoloïchos son of Alexandros of Thespias as victor of the ποιητῆς χορῶν – ‘choral poet’, this being the sole thymelic event listed in the midst of athletic and hippic events of the Erotideia.

⁹⁸⁸ *BCH* 98, 1974, 649=*IThesp* 174. For a more detailed analysis of the reasons for *IThesp* 175 as Erotideia, see Manieri, 2009, 429. Date – Marchand, 2013, 151; ca.20AD Moretti, 1981, 214.

[- -]ειτος Ἡρακλείτου Ἀλεξανδρεύς·
 [ἐγκω]μιογράφος εἰς Μεσσαλεῖνον
 [- - - - -]

enkōmiographos to the Empress Julia, Mnemosyne [...] son of Herakleitos, from Alexandria; *enkōmiographos* to Taurus [...] son of Mousaios, from Athens; *enkōmiographos* to the Muses, [...]ειτος son of Herakleitos, from Alexandria; *enkōmiographos* to Messalinos

Schachter originally understood *IThesp* 175 as evidence of an Erotideia of mixed (thymelic and athletic) type, suggesting Σεβασ[τήων Ιουλίας as the missing epithet, rather than Mouseia. He has since changed his mind, stating in 2016 that *IThesp* 175 was a ‘unique celebration of the combined Erotideia and Mouseia’.⁹⁸⁹ An alternate suggestion would be that the inscription records the combined victors from the two separate games onto one single stone, the thymelic events of the Mouseia and those of the athletic Erotideia.⁹⁹⁰ No victor lists are known to exist for those examples where a single *agōnothetēs* oversaw both sets of games, but this may be one. A certain amount of fluidity both in the celebrations of the *agōnes* and in the manner of their recording ought not be surprising.

The presence of the *enkōmiographoi* to the Empress Julia (Livia), and to Taurus and Messalinos, is evidence of the close ties between the *polis* of Thespiai and the family of the Roman general and friend of Augustus, Titus Statilius Taurus (who commanded the land forces at Actium), and which were expressed publicly through the medium of *agōnes*. A cult of *Theos Tauros* is known at Thespiai, and may attest to the role of T. Statilius Taurus as *euergetes*.⁹⁹¹ We know he settled freedmen at Thespiai, and he may have been a patron of the city.⁹⁹² As Marchand has suggested, his cult may even have been set up by his client Polykratides who set up a statue in his honour, and was a member of a family prominent in Thespian politics over

⁹⁸⁹ Schachter, 1986, 174 – Julia Augusta is here Livia. Schachter identifies Tauros as T. Statilius Taurus, and Messalinos as either Valerius Messalinus (d.21AD) or his younger brother M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus, the brother-in-law of T. Statius Taurus – Schachter, 1986, 175. Combined – Schachter, 2016, 359 n.45.

⁹⁹⁰ A similar attestation is made in an inscription from the end of the third century BC (*IThesp* 161) attributed to the Mouseia by Roesch, which records οἱ νικήσαντες τῶν θυμηλικῶν (l.8) – the victors of the thymelic agon – but as seen in earlier chapter, may simply be referring to the special crowned events in the more general competition.

⁹⁹¹ Marchand, 2013, 158. Perhaps Polykratides created cult – see 159. Link to Theos Tauros see Schachter, 1994, 54 n.2.

⁹⁹² Marchand, 2013, 166.

six centuries.⁹⁹³ The relation of this family to Rome and imperial cult is clear: Polykratides also built a gym for *negotiatores* and supplied oil for it (*IThesp* 373); his son Lysandros became *archiereus* (chief priest) to Augustus and Rome (*IThesp* 374); his nephew Phileinos built a stoa to γένος Σεβαστῶν and Rome ἐκ τῶν ιδίων (*IThesp* 427); while Phileinos' son Ariston, was twice named as *agōnothetēs* of the rebranded Erotideia Kaisareia and Mouseia Sebasteia Julia (*IThesp* 376-377).⁹⁹⁴ It may be to one of these celebrations that the incomplete victory list with the *enkōmiograpoi* (*IThesp* 174) belongs. The *enkōmia* to Livia, Taurus, and Messalinos may be evidence of competitions introduced by members of the family of Polykratides to honour their benefactors and maintain their own good relations with the family of Taurus and the imperial family, in a manner similar to that seen at Corinth in a similarly introduced poetry contest for Livia.⁹⁹⁵ Whatever the circumstances of the introduction of these events, through maintaining visibly good relations (often expressed through *agōnes*, or in public building projects) with prominent Romans and their families, Thespiiai flourished. Strabo's observation, albeit exaggerated, that only Thespiiai and Tanagra of the Boiotian *poleis* were notable in his own time, is testament to the effectiveness of these good relations with Rome.⁹⁹⁶

As for the geographical scope of the Thespian games, the evidence is too poor to say much about changes in the first century AD. As would be expected, the majority of victors were locals from Koroneia, Thebes, Tanagra, and especially Thespiiai, but there are competitors at the Mouseia from Athens and Alexandria (*IThesp* 174), Ainos, Kalydon and Kydonia (*IThesp* 175); and at the Erotideia from Salamis, Rome (the emperor-to-be Tiberius – *IThesp* 188), Alexandria, Lakedaimonia, and Corinth (*IG* VII 1766=*IThesp* 189). The presence of Tiberius – perhaps visiting his friend Titus Statilius Taurus - reveals the continuing high status of the Thespian games, which seems to have continued strongly into the second century AD.⁹⁹⁷ The existence of *agōnothetai* from cities other than Thespiiai (see for example *IG* VII 2517 from Thebes) equally attests to the continued pan-Boiotian scope of the organization of the games at Thespiiai.⁹⁹⁸ Thus the games of the first century AD, in a manner similar to those of

⁹⁹³ Marchand, 2013, 158, 163. In Asia Minor benefactors received cult through intercession between polis and Rome – Stubbe (2004); on family, see Jones (2006).

⁹⁹⁴ Marchand, 2013, 159.

⁹⁹⁵ Marchand, 2013, 159-160. Corinth VIII/3 153 l. 9–10.

⁹⁹⁶ Strabo 9.2.25.

⁹⁹⁷ On Titus Statilius Taurus, friend of Augustus, and his family relations with Thespaia see Marchand 2013, 145-169; on Tiberius in Thespiiai, *ibid.* 156-157.

⁹⁹⁸ Here the Theban Lysandros son of Polykrates was *agōnothetēs* of the Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia.

the third century AD, provided a meeting place for the concerns of the local elite, the *polis* of Thespiiai, wider Boiotia, and now Rome.

6.7 Other *Agōnes*

Evidence for other *agōnes* during the first century AD is disappointing. Following the post-Mithridatic blossoming of the games at Oropos, the evidence of the first century AD comprises just a single record (*SEG* 6.727c), a dedication from Perge in Pamphylia listing the victories of an unknown athlete, including one at the Amphiaraia and Romaia at Oropos (Ἀμφιάραια (κ)[αὶ Ῥωμαῖα ἐν Ὀρωπῶ]. The evidence is better for the Eleutheria at Plataia. Plutarch mentions the inauguration of the games in his *Life of Aristides* (21), and while he does not mention if it was still taking place during his lifetime, the *agōn* is attested in a number of inscriptions of the first century AD: an epigram dedicated by one Onetor from Athens (possibly a herald, mentioned above as a winner at Lebadeia) to Apollo (*IG* II² 3158), records his victory at Plataia and another at Thebes, presumably at either the Herakleia or Agrionia.⁹⁹⁹ Another dedication from Plataia (*IG* VII 1667) records the victory of a trumpeter and herald; one from Notion (*BCH* 37 [1913] 240.47) a victor in the youths' pentathlon; while our unnamed athlete from Perge – our only known winner from Oropos at this time – was also victorious at a race at Plataia (*SEG* 6.727c). Finally, an honorific inscription on the base of a statue for the athlete Neikogenes from Tanagra (*IG* VII 1856 and 1857 = *IThesp* 210-211) lists four victories in an unknown event at the Eleutheria at Plataia, four at the Theban Herakleia, and three at the Kaisareia at Tanagra (Καيسάρηα ἐν Τανάγρα τρίς).¹⁰⁰⁰ This inscription may belong to the early second century AD, but either way, it is our only evidence for the Kaisareia at Tanagra. It is possible (as I will discuss in the next chapter) that the Kaisareia may have been an ephebic games, of purely local concern, other ephebic *agōnes* equally having names linked to the imperial cult.¹⁰⁰¹ Continuing with the first-century AD *agōnes*, an unknown herald was also victorious at the Herakleia in Thebes (*IDel* 2552).¹⁰⁰² Finally, Schachter has suggested a Dionyseia at Thespiiai from an inscription from Thebes which speaks of the *agōnothesia* of the

⁹⁹⁹ As heralds are attested at both, it is impossible to choose between them without knowing the exact event won. Another possible mention is in *IG* II² 1990 where Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου (l.4) may refer to the games.

¹⁰⁰⁰ For dating ca. first/second century AD see Strasser *BCH* 127 (2003) 270-272.

¹⁰⁰¹ See above on the Kaisareia and [...] at Lebadeia, and the Sebasteia at Akraiphia, linked to Herakles and Hermes.

¹⁰⁰² If this inscription dates from the first century AD as Knoepfler suggests – see Knoepfler, 2008b, 1456.

Dio[...] and Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia (*IG* VII 2518).¹⁰⁰³ I am unconvinced. A Theban *agōnothetēs* for the Erotideia is attested elsewhere (*IG* VII 2517), and it is surely more likely that the Dionyseia of the inscription is the Theban Dionyseia Herakleia, albeit that this would be the earliest evidence of a games usually thought to exist only in the second and third centuries AD. I will return to these games in the final chapter.

6.8 Summary

Following the Civil Wars there was a marked decline in agonistic expression in every region of Greece, something particularly evident in Boiotia following its post-Mithridatic boom. In the years after 86BC, the favours granted by Sulla to a number of *agōnes* had resulted in a healthy agonistic circuit within Boiotia, where the vigour of these games produced an increased agonistic traffic from which the Boiotian *agōnes* were able to profit as a whole. The decline following the Civil Wars resulted in a severe curtailment of this circuit. As Remijsen has stated for the more general agonistic decline of the fourth century AD, given the dependence of local games on one another for their success in attracting competitors, it may be assumed that within various regions clusters of games disappeared in relatively short periods, due to a domino effect – the ability to attract the real champions depending at least as much on the success of neighbouring games as on their own reputation.¹⁰⁰⁴ Something of this sort could account for the apparent disappearance of a number of Boiotian games in the latter half of the first century BC (the Soteria at Akraiphia; the Delia at Tanagra; the Charitesia and Homoloia at Orchomenos; and the Sarapieia at Tanagra) and the failure of Boiotia to ever quite regain the agonistic heights of earlier times.

In such an atmosphere, the role played by wealthy individuals such as Epameinondas of Akraiphia in re-establishing Boiotia's agonistic reputation was key, especially given the relative weakness of the Boiotian *koinon*, whose activities seem to have been almost exclusively limited to the organization of the pan-Boiotian festivals of the Basileia and Pamboiotia. Its finances were doubtless tight: witness for example the gratitude of the *naopoioi* towards the generous Epameinondas of Akraiphia for all that he had done on behalf of the

¹⁰⁰³ Schachter, 1981, 195.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Remijsen, 2015, 1-2 and 166.

koinon as regards his generosity towards the Ptoia and Pamboiotia.¹⁰⁰⁵ During the first century AD, such wealthy private individuals, who had no doubt done well under Rome, were clearly playing a dominant role in the cultural concerns of the *koinon*, and were keen to promote Boiotia within the Roman world, and Rome within the Boiotian world.¹⁰⁰⁶ The adoption of names linked to imperial cult became almost universal during the first century AD, thus we witness the Megala Ptoia Kaisareia, Mouseia Sebasteia Julia, Erotideia Kaisareia, and Amphiaraia Romaia.¹⁰⁰⁷ We also have evidence for several new *agōnes* attached to local imperial cult, all of which may be ephebic: the Sebasteia at Akraiphia, linked to Herakles and Hermes; the Kaisareia and [...] at Lebadeia; and the Kaisareia at Tanagra. No details are known of these latter *agōnes*, but the ephebic link is of interest and I shall return to this in my final chapter. Little in the internal organization of the rebranded *agōnes* seems to have changed, giving the impression at the very least of business as usual, if on a reduced scale given the disappearance of several *agōnes* present before the Civil Wars.

Schachter dates the beginnings of a recovery in Boiotia to the second half of the first century AD, where increasing prosperity allowed a favoured few, such as Plutarch, the leisure and resources to interest themselves in cultural matters and fuel many of the archaising revivals of the second and third centuries AD.¹⁰⁰⁸ But the picture is surely more complex, and Schachter's 'recovery' – at least as far as the *agōnes* are concerned – proves, on closer inspection, to consist of complex, often isolated, limited, and temporary changes, rather than being a simple and total overarching cultural renaissance.¹⁰⁰⁹ Equally, the upturn which Schachter dates to the latter half of the century should not be taken as anything more than a broad generalization, especially given the actions of Epameinondas of Akraiphia during the *first* half of the century.¹⁰¹⁰ Epameinondas' recreation of the Ptoia (along with its associated 'ancestral dances') in AD 37 exemplifies what should now be a familiar pattern of re-invented tradition as a source of present prestige. As Graf has stated, lacking military and economic

¹⁰⁰⁵ IG VII 2711.

¹⁰⁰⁶ See Zuiderhoek, 2009 *passim* on this elite giving as a political mechanism for deflecting social tensions away from open conflicts towards communal celebrations of shared citizenship and the legitimization of power in the cities.

¹⁰⁰⁷ If the Amphiaraia Romaia was not rebranded during the second century BC – see Kalliontzis, 2016, *passim*.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Schachter, 2016, 134.

¹⁰⁰⁹ As Whitmarsh has recently argued for the 'Second Sophistic' as a whole, such actions need to be understood as local and tactical rather than as absolute paradigms of the spirit of the age – Whitmarsh, 2013, 3.

¹⁰¹⁰ Plutarch's picture of oracular desolation arguably sits at a point well into Schachter's period of renaissance – for date of composition see Ogilvie, 1967, 119.

power – the latter true at least at the level of the *polis* and *koinon*, if not necessarily the individual – Greece’s main currency with its Roman overseers was its past, which could be translated into cultural power, with the restoration of past cultural events (games, dances, oracles) being a way of bolstering these claims, irrespective of the accuracy of the reimagined past, this type of activity gaining momentum under the philhellenic emperors Trajan and Hadrian in the second century AD.¹⁰¹¹

Rather than placing Epameinondas at the *beginning* of this trend, as Graf does, I see him as part of the long-established tradition of cultural re-imagining, of the continuous re-invention by the wealthy elite of the festivals and *agōnes* which this thesis has taken as its central matter. The relative powerlessness of the Greeks under Rome doubtless added extra impetus to this ‘archaism’, but the conscious re-invention of the past as a means of present prestige had been the *modus operandi* of the wealthy elite from time immemorial; archaism, as Porter puts it, was as old as the archaic.¹⁰¹² Such re-inventions, equally, had always been a matter of pride and prestige: personal, local, regional, and national. To interpret the interest of the Greeks of the first and second centuries AD with their own past first and foremost as cultural currency for negotiating with Rome, is to ignore the role tradition had played throughout Greek history. The re-inventions and ‘archaising revivals’ under Rome ought to be viewed through this wider lens – a benefit of the diachronic approach taken by this thesis – so that Roman Boiotia can be seen less a deliberate reimagining of an ideal past (from which it would therefore stand separated), than an active and creative continuation of that past.

¹⁰¹¹ Graf, 2011, 110.

¹⁰¹² Porter, 2001, 91.

Chapter Seven: The Second to Fourth Centuries (AD 100-400)

The End of the *Agōnes*

7.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this thesis completes the chronological examination of the Boiotian *agōnes* and festivals with a discussion of the second and third centuries AD and a brief look at their decline and disappearance in the fourth century. Amid increasing evidence for the irrelevance of a centralized Boiotian *koinon* during this period, and alongside a decline in the status of the Boiotian games, I will examine how Boiotian identity was expressed during this period through a number of different modalities, with an increasing importance laid upon local expressions of identity, and the local *ephēbeia* taking up the reins of militaristic Boiotian self-identity. I will also examine the evidence for the festival of the Daidala at Plataia, a ritual of pan-Boiotian unity whose second-century AD incarnation, as described by Pausanias, demonstrates aptly the most important themes of this thesis. Not only does the Daidala provide continuing evidence for the role of festivals in fomenting and upholding Boiotian unity during a period when an underlying *political* reality no longer existed, but it also demonstrates the role played by such festivals in providing a framework wherein the living present and the traditional past became meaningfully united, an example of the continual and active re-imagining of tradition demonstrated throughout thesis.

7.2 Pausanias' Boiotia

The Greek traveller Pausanias wrote his *Description of Greece* during the reigns of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61) and Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180), arguably for an audience of men such as himself, educated Greeks from Asia Minor.¹⁰¹³ His work as a whole is often viewed within the archaising tradition of the ‘Second Sophistic’; it is often noted, for example, that he almost completely neglects monuments and dedications later than ca.150BC, with the

¹⁰¹³ Dates for Pausanias, see Schachter, 2016, 133.

cut off usually closer to the fourth century BC, a selective depreciation of the Hellenistic and Roman which seems to have been in vogue, and is found also in the works of Apollodorus and Arrian.¹⁰¹⁴ He appears to prefer the artistic creations of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, antique local history and mythology, scarcely mentioning the Hellenistic artists, architects, poets, and other writers, with the exception of Apollonius of Rhodes (2.12.6) and Aratus of Soli (1.2.3).¹⁰¹⁵ As Gartland has recently stated, Pausanias' particular interest in fourth-century BC Boiotia can be linked to the importance that the author gives to the vitality and agency of the *polis*.¹⁰¹⁶ It was during the fourth century especially that Boiotia, under Theban domination, was a truly self-moving power, enjoying a self-determinacy wholly lacking under Rome. That this lends his work a nostalgic backward-looking feel has been argued by Porter, who speaks of Pausanias' eye being attracted to empty traces, ruined cities and temples, empty oracles and naked plinths.¹⁰¹⁷ Certainly Pausanias, like Strabo before him, enjoyed a good ruin (9.2.1):

Γῆς δὲ τῆς Πλαταιίδος ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ὀλίγον τῆς εὐθείας ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς δεξιὰ Ὑσιῶν καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν ἐρείπια ἐστὶ. πόλεις δὲ ποτε τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐν τοῖς ἐρείπιοις τῶν Ὑσιῶν ναός ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἡμίεργος καὶ φρέαρ ἱερὸν·

On Mount Kithairon, within the territory of Plataia, if you turn off to the right for a little way from the straight road, you reach the ruins of Hysiai and Erythrai. Once they were cities of Boiotia, and even at the present day among the ruins of Hysiai are a half-finished temple of Apollo and a sacred well.¹⁰¹⁸

The *Periegete* elsewhere mentions ruins of the lower-city of Thebes (9.7.6), of Onchestos (9.26.5) – although the temple, image, and grove remained – and the ivy-clad ruined temple of Alalkomenai (9.33.6), abandoned after Sulla had looted the ivory image of Athena.¹⁰¹⁹ He gives us the ruins of Harma and Mykalessos (9.19.4) and Glisas (9.19.2), and notes that Aspledon was abandoned by its inhabitants through lack of water (9.38.9), and Boiotian Athens and

¹⁰¹⁴ Bowie, 1970, 22-23; Porter, 2001, 66-67. For historiography see introduction.

¹⁰¹⁵ Bowie, 1970, 22; Habicht, 1985, 133-134; Arafat points to a personal dimension in Pausanias' interests beyond the classical, with his interest in the Archaic period, in Homer, and in the actions of Rome - Arafat, 1996, 42 and 79.

¹⁰¹⁶ Gartland, 2016, 96.

¹⁰¹⁷ Porter, 2001, 70-74.

¹⁰¹⁸ Adapted from Jones, 1935, 177-179.

¹⁰¹⁹ It is unclear if there ever actually was a *polis* as such at Onchestos. Hansen lists Onchestos amongst the sites not attested as *poleis*, although it is given *polis* status by Pausanias 9.26.5 - Hansen, 2004, 435. Homer mentions only the grove of Onchestos, (*Iliad* 2.506).

Eleusis through its surplus, both disappearing beneath the expanding waters of Kopais (9.25.2). Pausanias mentions ‘ruins’ (*ereipia*) ninety-six times, thirteen in Boiotia, second only to Arcadia’s mighty thirty-six examples, and ‘desolation’ (*erēmos*) thirty-five times.¹⁰²⁰

Yet Pausanias’ description is far from a catalogue of decline. While certainly a product of its own time, with distinct elements of the nostalgic archaizing of the Second Sophistic, the *Periegesis* also provides a powerful sense of living Greek cultural identity under Roman rule.¹⁰²¹ Even his rationalizations of certain myths only serves to close the gap between the stories of the past and the circumstances of the present, especially when the *Periegete* links traditional stories with visible features of the landscape.¹⁰²² As Alcock rightly states, it is the presence of the past which interests Pausanias, rather than its passing or its loss, and Pausanias mentions dozens of active rural sites for every ruin; rather than a land of desolation, he paints a picture of an imperial landscape densely inhabited by daimons and gods, if not exactly full of people.¹⁰²³ The myths and stories Pausanias records function as ‘forceful expressions of local and Hellenic identity on the part of still-viable communities.’¹⁰²⁴ What is more, this is a numinous landscape, whose rituals he sometimes partakes in, and whose living secrets he preserves, such as the Mysteries of Eleusis, those of the Kabeiroi near Thebes, or Trophonius at Lebadeia.¹⁰²⁵ This secrecy only serves to highlight the living presence of these traditions, just as the ruins he describes also speak of the continuing presence of the past.¹⁰²⁶ Pausanias’ account reveals a flourishing of those rituals and sites most closely linked to a personal experience of divinity in Boiotia. It is possible that this was a direct result of the Roman interest in mystery cults – such as those of Mithras and Isis - and in rituals linked to direct forms of religious experience.¹⁰²⁷ Just as the rites of Eleusis continued to thrive in Roman Attica, so we note that those oracles attested by Pausanias to be still in existence in Boiotia were precisely

¹⁰²⁰ Pritchett, 1999, 197-202. For Boiotia, general warfare is named as the most frequent cause of ruin, although none of these ruins post-date the second century BC - Pritchett, 1999, 222.

¹⁰²¹ Hawes, 2014, 176-177 and n.6. Hawes provides a useful summary of both the optimistic and pessimistic scholarly views on the period – 2014, 185-188.

¹⁰²² See Hawes, 2014, 207.

¹⁰²³ Alcock, 1993, 201. See also Gartland, 2016, 98 on Pausanias’ focus on the corporeal experience of landscape as an effective means of transporting the reader back to the earlier periods he describes.

¹⁰²⁴ Hawes, 2014, 187. Hawes emphasises how myths were used to articulate and bolster local concerns – Hawes, 2014, 188.

¹⁰²⁵ Eleusis (1.14.3, 1.38.7); Kabeirion (9.25.5); Trophonius (9.39.5-14).

¹⁰²⁶ But c.f. Elsner, 1992, 17 who speaks of Pausanias’ concern for the past as a way of avoiding the realities of the present.

¹⁰²⁷ On the range of religious activities with an individual dimension see Rüpke, 2013, 14-23. The chronology of the development of individual religious perspectives through the Hellenistic and Roman periods as epitomised by Cumont (1906) has been recently questioned by Woolf, 2013, 138.

those of a similar, personal nature; those for which the questioner himself gained the experience without the go-between of a priest.¹⁰²⁸ Thus Pausanias speaks of the sanctuary of Apollo *Spodios* at Thebes (9.11.7), whose divination was by cledonomanancy – the hearing, by the enquirer, of chance utterings; he tells of the continued importance of the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi (9.25.5); he relates how Amphiaraos was still open for business and personal meetings at Oropos (1.34.5); and he gives a wonderful - albeit tantalisingly incomplete - description of his own descent to Trophonius at Lebadeia (9.39.5-14). The continued existence of each of these religious sites owes much, so Bonnechere has argued, to this role of personal experience, this personal meeting with the god.¹⁰²⁹ Yet it would be wrong to suggest that this interest was purely Roman, or that these sites remained open solely to cater for a visiting Roman clientele. Personal experience had long been the strength of the Boiotian oracles and the Boiotian relation to the divine in general.¹⁰³⁰ To view the continuation of these Boiotian oracles and rites as due *solely* to the interests of Rome is to diminish their internal meaning.

More importantly for this thesis, Pausanias is a key source for a number of significant Boiotian festivals, many of which were also known from earlier periods but some of which we hear of for the first and only time.¹⁰³¹ We learn from Pausanias, for example, of the continuation of the Daphnephoria at the Ismenion at Thebes, and the festival of the Daidala at Plataia, that great celebration of Boiotian unity, about which Pausanias is our single best source.¹⁰³² Yet, like Plutarch before him, Pausanias' snapshot is just that, and with little before or after with which to compare, it is difficult to assess how much of the cult Pausanias records is evidence of simple continuation, rather than the re-invention it is usually taken to illustrate.¹⁰³³ Equally, we must also be aware of Pausanias' selectivity; Pausanias had an agenda and records those things in which he had an especial interest, and ignores those in which he does not.¹⁰³⁴ The

¹⁰²⁸ This concentration may, of course, reflect Pausanias' own interests.

¹⁰²⁹ Bonnechere, 1990, 64.

¹⁰³⁰ Note for example the nympholepsy associated with the Sphragitid Nymphs of Kithairon (Plut. *Aristides* 11), or Hesiod's encounter with the Muses on Helikon (*Op.* 654-659).

¹⁰³¹ His interest seems to be Greek. As Schachter shows, Pausanias pays no attention at all to evidence for imperial cult, and very little to that for Isis, although he includes one reference to Serapis (at Kopai: 9.24.1), and describes in full the festival of Isis at Tithorea (10.32.13-17). – Schachter, 2016, 134 n.3.

¹⁰³² Daphnephoria – 9.10.4; Daidala – 9.2.7-9.3.8.

¹⁰³³ On Plutarch as a snapshot, see above at 6.1. Schachter gives us a selection of those cults which he believes show evidence of renewal after a lapse and/or revision of procedure, naming those at Akraiphia (Apollo Ptoios/Ptoia), Aulis (Artemis), Haliartia (Praxidikai/Tilphossa), Koroneia (Athena Itonia, Zeus), Laphystios (Zeus), Lebadeia (Trophonios, Zeus), Orchomenos (Charites), Oropos (Amphiaraos), Plataia (Hera/Daidala), Tanagra (Hermes), Thebes (Amphion and Zethos, Apollo Ismenios/Daphnephoria, Demeter, Dionysos, Herakles, Kabiroi), Thespiai (Demeter, Dionysos, Eros, Herakles, Muses) – Schachter, 2016, 134 n.3.

¹⁰³⁴ Pausanias' agenda, see Bowie, 1970, 22-23; Porter, 2001, 66-67.

agōnes are a case in point, for while his interest in athletics is well documented, with the ancient and prestigious Olympics forming a central thematic core to his *Description of Greece*, his interest specifically in the antique and illustrious may have resulted in a turning away from other more recent games.¹⁰³⁵ It is, for example, unsurprising to hear him talk of the Eleutheria at Plataia, with its aetiological origins in the Persian War, or of the famous Mouseia and Erotideia at Thespiiai, but his silence on the Akraiphian Ptoia, or more importantly, the Basileia at Lebadeia and Pamboiotia at Koroneia, may reflect a lack of interest rather than proof that these games were absent or unimportant to his hosts. Absence of evidence from Pausanias is certainly not to be taken as evidence of absence, as the epigraphic evidence below will show.

Whatever his inconsistencies, Pausanias is invaluable in his recording of local custom, especially of ephebic rites, and of the presence of the past as embodied in the local landscape, painting a picture of the mythological and historical topography in which the second-century AD Boiotian lived (and which surely was not *wholly* a Roman-period creation).¹⁰³⁶ Interestingly, Boiotia as an entity is almost entirely missing from Pausanias' account. We hear briefly of the hero Boiotos at the very start of Book IX, but from thereon Boiotia as an agent is lacking, its place usurped more often than not by Thebes (for it is under the aegis of that city that Pausanias describes the victories of Epaminondas, rather than as victories of Boiotia as a whole).¹⁰³⁷ But while Thebes dominates Pausanias' account, forming something of a structural hub – he returns time and again to describe a different part the city, re-commencing each foray into wider Boiotia from one of the mythical seven gates – the details of his account are refreshingly un-Thebocentric, allowing a stronger focus on the mythical heritage and cults of the other Boiotian *poleis*. It is the shift away from the regional Boiotian and towards the local, which, I will argue below, was characteristic of the Boiotia of the second and third centuries, and which marks a major shift in the expression of Boiotian identity at this time, for which Pausanias is our major witness.

¹⁰³⁵ On the central role played by Olympia and the Olympics in Pausanias' *Description of Greece* and his conception of what it meant to be Greek see Newby, 2005, 202-228.

¹⁰³⁶ On 'places of memory' in the Roman world and the link in the Greek world between sacred places and the creation of memory see Gangloff, 2013, 1-23.

¹⁰³⁷ On Boiotos, see 9.1.1; on Epaminondas' victories as Theban, see for example 9.13.11.

7.3 Second and Third Century AD Boiotian *Agōnes*

With its obvious links to the Greeks' heroic past, it is unsurprising that Pausanias makes special mention in his account of the Eleutheria at Plataia.¹⁰³⁸ Not only does he mention the continued existence of the *agōn* of the Eleutheria, he even helpfully tells us a little about the events competed in at the games (9.2.6):

ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀγῶνα διὰ ἔτους πέμπτου τὰ Ἐλευθέρια, ἐν ᾧ μέγιστα γέρα πρόκειται δρόμου· θεοῦσι δὲ ὀπλισμένοι πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ.

Even at the present day every four years they hold games called the Eleutheria, in which great prizes are offered for running. The competitors run in armour before the altar [of Zeus *Eleutherios*].

Epigraphic evidence for the Eleutheria in the second century AD exists in abundance, a large proportion of which being the widespread dedications of winners of the above hoplite race who were awarded the title 'best of the Hellenes' (ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων).¹⁰³⁹ During the third century AD the games continued, with victories an unnamed Megarian athlete (*IG* VII 49), and another who dedicated at Delphi (*FD* III 1.555), both of whom also won at the Herakleia in Thebes. The lack of complete victor lists or *apologias* of *agōnothetai* is typical of our evidence for the Eleutheria as a whole (just one victor list exists, from the first century BC - *IG* VII 1666) but it is worth noting here the change in epigraphic habit more generally throughout the Greek world especially during the latter part of the third century AD, where honorary texts for local notables became restricted to those for provincial governors and other imperial magistrates only, something which doubtless played a role in the strength of the perceived agonistic decline from that period on.¹⁰⁴⁰ While the paucity of the evidence leaves little to be said about the wider nature and scope of the Eleutheria during the second and third century AD, the abundance of private dedications throughout the Roman-Greek world, including Asia Minor and Egypt, doubtless erected by the athletes themselves or their families, attests to the continued and

¹⁰³⁸ On Pausanias' use of the Persian War as a frequently cited paradigm see Alcock, 2002, 82 and 84.

¹⁰³⁹ From Elea, for example, we hear of the victory of Mnasiboulos - ἀρίστ[ου Ἑλ]λήνων (*IG* IX 1.146); while from Sparta a wealth of dedications exist for the (presumably) father and son – Damokratidas son of Alkandrides (*IG* V 1.305, 553; 554; 555a, *SEG* 11.802), and Alkandrides son of Damokratidas (*IG* V 1.556, 655, *SEG* 11.803; *Istanb. Forsch.* 17 [1950] 65.30) both ἄριστον Ἑλλήνων. Other victors hail from Hermopolis in Egypt (*PLond.* 3.214.1178), Smyrna (*Istanb. Forsch.* 17 [1950] 61.18), and Athens *IG* II² 3162.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Remijsen, 2015, 15.

widespread prestige of the games, especially the winning of the title ‘best of the Hellenes’.¹⁰⁴¹ Given the interest in the glories of the Hellenic past (especially the Persian War), the continued interest in the games beyond the time of Pausanias is unsurprising.

Besides the Eleutheria at Plataia, the Erotideia and Mouseia at Thespias are the only games recorded by Pausanias in his description of Boiotia. The widespread fame of the games and relative antiquity of the Mouseia may have been a factor, but equally important was the vast collection of art works dedicated in the Vale of the Muses which allowed Pausanias to describe works by Kephisodotos, Strongylion, and Myron (9.30.1), the bronze sculpture of Arsinoe on the ostrich (9.31.1), and the tripod dedicated by Hesiod (9.31.3). Equally, he describes at length the sad fate of Praxiteles’ statue of Eros at Roman hands: stolen by Caligula, returned by Claudius, and finally taken to Rome by Nero where the image perished in fire (9.27.3-4). Again, this Roman interest in the cult of Eros is telling and may explain the continued popularity of the games.

Pausanias, like Plutarch the previous century, bears witness to musical competitions at the Erotideia (9.31.3):¹⁰⁴²

περιοικουσι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες τὸ ἄλσος, καὶ ἑορτὴν τε ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θεσπιεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσι Μουσεῖα· ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἑρωτι, ἅθλα οὐ μουσικῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταῖς τιθέντες.

Men too live round about the grove [of the Muses], and here the Thespians celebrate a festival and games called the Mouseia. And they celebrate other games in honour of Eros, holding not only musical but also athletic events.

Several victory lists and *apologias* of *agōnothetai* exist for both the Erotideia and Mouseia for the second century AD, allowing us a glimpse into both the range of events and the geographical scope of the competitors. A limestone stele discovered at Leuktra (*SEG* 3.335 (*IThesp* 192) provides a complete record of the victories at the Erotideia at this period, listing winners in the dolichos, stadion, diaulos, pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, and pankration, some

¹⁰⁴¹ For the prestige of the games being partly dependent upon this one event, see Spawforth, 2012, 131.

¹⁰⁴² It is at the end of the second or start of the third century AD that Homoloichos son of Alexandros of Thespias is listed as choral poet, the sole thymelic event listed amidst of athletic and hippic events (*IG* VII 1772=*IThesp* 191). Schachter classifies this as a list of the Erotideia - and proof of its mixed status - Schachter, 1986, 174.

competed for under numerous categories including boys, youths, and men, and types such as Pythian and Isthmian; there was also a hoplite race and a couple of horse races (Figure 26). Yet the status of the games appears to have changed. Strasser has argued that the Erotideia, a Crown Games (*stephanitēs*) from the Hellenistic period to the first century AD, had become a Money Games (*thematikos*) by the second century AD.¹⁰⁴³ His evidence takes the form of a number of joint victors named on the Leuktra victory list (Il.15-16):

ανδρῶν πένταθλον· Π. Ἀλβεΐνιος Μ[εθοδικὸς Κορίνθιος]
Ψυχικὸς Ἡρακλέωνος Θηβαῖος συν[εστεφανώθη].

Men's pentathlon: P. Albinus Methodicus from Corinth and Psychicus Herakleonus from Thebes were crowned together

Equally, lower down the inscription we read something similar (Il.25-26):

πυγμῆν ἀγενεῖων Εὐφραστος Σωσίχου [- - - - -],
Παράμονος (Παραμόνου) Θεσπιεὺς συνεστεφανώθη[η]

In the youths' boxing, Euphrastos son of Sosichos [from ...]
and Paramonos son of Paramonos from Thespiai, were crowned together

In a Sacred or Crown Games, when the finals resulted in a draw, the crown was dedicated to the god (designated ἱερός); here the 'crowning together' reveals a tie for first place, the crown itself being metaphorical, for this term is usually only found at thematic games, where the winners shared a money prize.¹⁰⁴⁴ Aside from a few exceptions, the origins of the victors are mostly missing because of the damage to the right hand side of the inscription, with only Athens, Alexandria, and a host from Corinth firmly attested. The lack of Boiotian names may be a chance effect of the preservation of the stone. A similar range of events is attested on the fragmentary stele located in the doorway of St. Charalampis in Thespiai (*IG VII 1772 = IThesp* 191), where the winning competitors reveal the expected mixture of locals - Boiotians, a Euboian from Chalkis, a Phokian from Amphikleia – alongside exotics, such as a competitor from Claros in Lydia.¹⁰⁴⁵

¹⁰⁴³ Strasser, 2003, 271-272.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Strasser, 2003, 271-272. On appearance of συνεστεφανώθεντες etc. as most commonly found in thematic Games, see Crowther, 2000, 125-140.

¹⁰⁴⁵ There was no sign of the inscription on my visit in the summer of 2016.

For the Mouseia, several victory lists exist from the second century AD (*IThesp* 177-179), which provide an almost complete record of both events and winning competitors. From the *apologia* of an unknown *agōnothetēs* from Thespiiai (*IG* VII 1774 = *IThesp* 176), and the *apologia* of the Thespian *agōnothetēs* Titus Flavius (*IG* VII 1775 = *IThesp* 184), we learn that at some point during this period, the games were known as the Megala Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia, with victors hailing from Boiotia, Argos, Athens, (Thessalian?) Larisa, Chios, Miletus, Alexandria, Aspendos (Pamphylia), and Neocaesarea (Pontus).¹⁰⁴⁶ Here again we hear of two winners in the competition of the ‘poet to the Muses’, an Argive and a Thespian, proving that the Mouseia (like the Erotideia and the Ptoia at Akraiphia), had become thematic by the middle of the second century AD.¹⁰⁴⁷ Only one complete victory list is known for the Mouseia for the third century AD (*IG* VII 1776 = *IThesp* 180), dated to post-AD 212, where the games are once again named as the Megala Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia.¹⁰⁴⁸ As Schachter has pointed out, in contrast to the lists of the second century AD, we see no new poetry or plays, but the range of competitors is still impressive.¹⁰⁴⁹ But clearly the Mouseia and Erotideia continued to be important and prestigious games, and an important *locus* of local elite activity. In the available lists no *agōnothetai* from outside Thespiiai are attested, and it appears therefore that the organization of the games had itself become more local in scope, concordant with the relative prosperity of Thespiiai under Rome, rather than pan-Boiotian.¹⁰⁵⁰

A similar change seems to have occurred for the Ptoia at Akraiphia. Pausanias’ claim that the oracle of Apollo at Ptoios used to be ‘infallible’ (ἀπενδής - 9.23.6) before the time of Alexander’s destruction of Thebes suggests that the oracle was once again silent in the latter half of the second century, as it had been for Plutarch during the first.¹⁰⁵¹ Whether the *agōn* of the Ptoia fell into disuse again after Epameinondas of Akraiphia’s revival of AD 37 is unknown.¹⁰⁵² Pausanias tells us nothing of any celebration of the Ptoia, having little to say of

¹⁰⁴⁶ According to Roesch *IThesp* 176 may date to the first century AD. On the victors list *IThesp* 177 (*BCH* 19 (1895) 341-343 no.16 = *SEG* 3.334) ca.AD 160 the name is recorded as the Megala Traianeia Hadrianeia Sebasteia Mouseia.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Strasser, 2003, 271-272.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Date from Roesch, *IThesp* 2007 (2009).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Schachter, 1986, 179.

¹⁰⁵⁰ The use of the ethnic ‘Boiotios’ for the winning Boiotians did not resume after the dissolution of the *koinon*.

¹⁰⁵¹ Plut. *de defec.* 8 (414A).

¹⁰⁵² Graf has suggested that after Epameinondas the cult ceased and that, after a longer interruption, another wealthy founder revived what he knew to be a venerable tradition, perhaps Herodes Atticus himself, whose daughter Elpinike Regilla was honoured by the Akraiphians – Graf, 2015, 24. For dedication see *BCH* 16 (1892), 464 no.7. See also Schachter, 1981, 72 n. 5.

Akraiphia except the presence of a shrine and temple of Dionysus worth a visit, but epigraphic evidence exists for the games during the late second or early third century AD (*IG* VII 4150, 4151, 4152), with relatively local victors from the Greek mainland such as Lucius Ventidios Euphrosynos, the winning aulete from Mantinea (*IG* VII 4151), who we learn provided the prize for the winning kitharist (ll.13-15).¹⁰⁵³ With no victor lists for the first century AD, we cannot say anything definite about the change in geographical scope of the festival in the second century AD, but it certainly lacks the earlier exotic elements – the competitors from Asia Minor and Italy attested in the first century BC – at least amongst the winners.¹⁰⁵⁴ The mention of prize money given by the winning aulete equally reveals that by this time the Ptoia was no longer a Crown Games but thematic, a change in status which also seems to have occurred at both the Mouseia and Erotideia at this time.¹⁰⁵⁵ The Ptoia continued to be celebrated during the third century AD. From a victor list from Larymna in Lokris (*BCH* 27 (1903) 296 ff.), dated post-AD 212, we hear of victories in the pentaeteric Ptoia Kaisareia in a list which names similar events to the second century.¹⁰⁵⁶ Victors hail almost exclusively from Tanagra and Athens, but the mention of a double money prize for M. Aurelius Dionysius from Byzantium – a poet – reveals that a wider interest still existed.¹⁰⁵⁷ This is the last attested evidence for the Ptoia.

Finally, as regards Thebes, during the second century AD victories at the Theban Herakleia are attested for the athlete P. Aelius Heliodoros from Seleucia on the Calycadnus in Cilicia (winner of the Pankration ca.AD 140), and the unnamed Athenian athlete, victorious also in the Eleutheria mentioned above, who at the end of the second century AD was victorious at the ‘Herakleia in Thebes’ (*IG* II² 3162).¹⁰⁵⁸ It has been suggested that during the second century AD the Herakleia merged with the *agōn* of the Agrionia, to become the Herakleia Dionyseia.¹⁰⁵⁹ We learn, for example, of the victory at the Theban Dionyseia Herakleia of Tiberius Iulius Apolaustus, ca.AD 180-192, the ‘pantomime and actor’ (τ[ραγικῆς ἐν]ρῶθιμου

¹⁰⁵³ We do not have a title for the games, although in the third century AD they were still called the Kaisareia Ptoia, and this may have been true of the second century. Manieri suggests all three as parts of a single inscription – Manieri, 2009, 124.

¹⁰⁵⁴ The usual *caveat* being that winners need not be representative of the whole.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Strasser, 2003, 272 n.52; Manieri, 2009, 125. I will discuss this change at the end of this section.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Date – Strasser, 2002, 117-124. Larymna is included within Boiotia in Pausanias’ account – on this ‘widening’ of Boiotia, see below.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Bizard, 1903, 299.

¹⁰⁵⁸ On P. Aelius Heliodorus see Robert, 1966, 101-105. Another victory at the Herakleia is listed for an unknown competitor – see *IThesp* 210-211.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Schachter, 1981, 183.

κινήσεως, ὑποκριτή[ν].¹⁰⁶⁰ Slater states that the Dionysia Herakleia was a combination of the two older games, which under Commodus had been refashioned to include pantomimes in what we may view as the increased Romanization of the festival competitions.¹⁰⁶¹ Scant as the evidence is, the idea of a combination is also suggested by the events celebrated, for while the original Agrionia was musical and dramatic and the Herakleia athletic and hippic, the later combined *agōn* shows evidence of both. Schachter suggests the united festival as a product of the late second or early third century AD, but as I suggested in the previous chapter, an inscription from Thebes which speaks of the *agōnothesia* of the Dio[...] and Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia (*IG* VII 2518) may be earlier evidence of the Theban Dionyseia Herakleia, rather than Schachter's suggested Thespian Dionyseia, otherwise unknown.¹⁰⁶²

The victories of Tiberius Iulius Apolaustus are known from a number of inscriptions, including ones at Ephesus and Delphi.¹⁰⁶³ Interestingly, the Delphic inscription mentions 'seven gated Thebes' (Θηβαίων τῶν ἐπταπύλων), a 'Second Sophistic' nod perhaps, revealing the fascination which a tragic performer such as Apolaustus would have felt for a city such as Thebes.¹⁰⁶⁴ As for the scope of the festival, the Cilician P. Aelius Heliodoros is evidence of a slightly wider geographical range than previously, although typically many of the competitors come from Athens and Boiotia. It is just possible that we are seeing a glimmer of growth in line with the trend in *agōnes* in the Roman Greek east. If, as I will discuss below, financial constraints played a role in the curtailment of the Boiotian games at this time, then the idea that the Dionyseia Herakleia of this period was itself an amalgamation of two previously separate *agōnes* may be an important factor in its success. The games continued to attract competitors well into the third century AD, with the name of the event sometimes recorded as the Herakleia Olympia.¹⁰⁶⁵ The survival of these games points to a pattern we see repeated during these

¹⁰⁶⁰ *SEG* 45.1578 - *IEph* 2070-2071 and *FD* III 1.55. See especially Slater, 1995.

¹⁰⁶¹ Slater, 1995, 284.

¹⁰⁶² Schachter, 1981, 183 and 195.

¹⁰⁶³ *IEph* 2070/2071 and *FD* III 1.55 respectively.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Slater, 1995, 288.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Pythikos, a victorious aulete (*FD* III 1.550 l.13); an unnamed Megarian (*IG* VII 49); an individual from Nikomedia in Turkey – a herald or trumpet player according to Robert – recorded a victory at the Dionyseia Herakleia Antoneineia – Robert, *CRAI*, (1970), 20-22, l.10-11 - the Antoninus arguably referring to the third-century AD emperor Elagabalus. Again from Delphi, a competitor from Asia Minor recorded three successive victories for Herakleia Olympia in Thebes, mid-third century AD – (*FD* III 1.555, l.10) Ἡράκλεια Ὀλύμπια ἐν Θήβαις ἐξῆς γ' - 'Herakleia Olympia in Thebes three times in succession' – a feat also seemingly achieved by the herald Valerius Eklektos of Sinope, as recorded in a dedication at Athens (*IG* II² 3169 ca.AD 253-257), if these are not, in fact, the same man. The two latter lists are similar, with elements in a similar order, but the differing numbers of victories at some events make identification unlikely.

centuries in Boiotia, of the endurance of the local *polis* games – especially those of great antiquity and prestige – at the expense of the communal Boiotian *agōnes*, pointing to a change in emphasis of the interests of the wealthy elites who funded such festivities; as if in matters of prestige, Boiotia’s stock had somehow fallen. I shall return to this idea below.

7.4 The Disappearance of the Pan-Boiotian *Agōnes*

A number of previously important *agōnes* disappear from the epigraphic record by the beginning of the second century AD. There is no inscriptional evidence, for example, for the celebration of the Amphiaraia at Oropos from the second century AD onwards. Whether the *agōn* truly disappeared, (given evidence for the sanctuary’s continued use), is unclear, although the epigraphic silence of the once flourishing games is perhaps telling.¹⁰⁶⁶ Again, we might blame the decreased agonistic traffic, with the centre of agonistic expression having crossed the Aegean into Asia Minor. A lack of agonistic traffic could, however, have had no effect on another of the Boiotian games which disappears at this time, that being the Boiotia-only Pamboiotia at Koroneia. Pausanias was aware of the temple of Athena Itonia near Koroneia, and that it was the assembly place of all the Boiotians (9.34.1), but he does not mention the Pamboiotia, and no inscriptions exist for the Pamboiotia from this time on. It is possible that the *agōn* had continued to exist for some time after Epameinondas’ reforms of AD 37, as Plutarch states that at his time the games were well known.¹⁰⁶⁷

The third-century AD inscription of Flavia Laneika from Chaironeia, which describes her as ‘priestess for life of Athena Itonia and the Boiotian *koinon*’ (τὴν ἀρχιέριαν διὰ βίου τοῦ τε κοινοῦ Βοιωτῶν τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς - *IG* VII 3426), reveals that the Boiotian *koinon* were still meeting at the Itonion, suggesting that the underlying structure still existed upon which the Pamboiotia had previously been built, although firm evidence for the games is missing.¹⁰⁶⁸

¹⁰⁶⁶ Pausanias’ account of the rites of incubation at the sanctuary (1.34.5) argues for a continued flourishing of this important healing sanctuary, something confirmed also in the third century through epigraphic evidence – see for example *IG* II² 4530 and *SEG* 15.290. *IG* II² 2198 mentions a possibly ephebic Amphiaraia, but this may be a misreading – see Schachter, 1981, 25 n.2.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Plut. Nar. Am.* 4 (774E-775E) – see Schachter, 1981, 126.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Fossey prefers a late third-century AD date for the Flavia Laneika inscription, while Schachter has suggested a date near the start of the century, with the possibility that Flavia Laneika herself was the priestess whom Pausanias had recorded performing the daily fire-lighting ceremony at the Itonion for Iodama – Fossey, 1986, 258-259; Schachter, 2016, 142 n.17; Pausanias (9.33.2).

Knoepfler's statement that the Basileia disappeared in the first half of the third century AD *avec l'effacement (selon toute apparence) du Koinon béotien* – 'with the obliteration (apparently) of the Boiotian *koinon*' – might favour Schachter's early dating, if there was any clear evidence of this obliteration.¹⁰⁶⁹ As it stands it seems to rest solely on Knoepfler's hypothesis matching the celebration of the Basileia to the existence of the *koinon*, which I referred to in the previous chapter and will return to below. Either way, the inscription of Flavia Laneika and the mention by Pausanias of the Itonion as the meeting place of the *koinon* allow us to trace the existence of the *koinon* from at least the mid-second century AD someway into the third century AD. This imperial *koinon*, so Schachter believes, existed mainly – if not entirely – for the benefit of those who held office in it, for the honour of being called a Boiotarch, while also giving the local aristocracy a reason, or excuse, to get together regularly.¹⁰⁷⁰ The meetings at the Itonion, he argues, need not have been a general assembly – hence the lack of Pamboiotia – but rather a meeting of the Boiotarchs, where such matters as the Boiotian representation on the Delphic Amphiktyony may have been discussed, or the organization of the Daidala, the functioning of the Boiotian calendar, and the setting the timing for festivals and *agōnes*.¹⁰⁷¹ The *koinon* was to exist until the mid-third century AD. An inscription on a herm from Lebadeia records the dedication of 'the eponymous archon and *agōnothetēs* of the Emperors' (ὁ ἐπώνυμος ἄρχων καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Σεβαστῶν - II.1-3), Aurelius Philokrates son of Rhodokles (*IG* VII 3106) from the late second or early third century AD. Equally, an inscription from Amphikleia in Phokis (*IG* IX 1.218) names one Marcus Vulpius Damasippus as high priest of Dionysus, *agōnothetēs*, and more importantly, Boiotarch.

The presence of Boiotarchs, eponymous archons, and lifelong priestesses of the Boiotian *koinon*, reveal that the federal organs were still in place for the organization of the festivals such as the Pamboiotia and Basileia.¹⁰⁷² The disappearance of the Pamboiotia from the epigraphic record is therefore surprising, and it is worth considering if this is simply a matter of chance, reflecting an alteration in epigraphic habit, or evidence of a real absence. The question is made more pertinent through a consideration of the other *agōn* most closely associated with the Boiotian *koinon*, the Basileia at Lebadeia. Pausanias' description of his visit

¹⁰⁶⁹ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1461.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Schachter, 2016, 145. An equivalent might be seen in the 'privatization' of the *ephēbeia* by the Athenian elite, which increasingly acted as something of a private club for wealthy families, while still maintaining its public role – see Perrin-Saminadayar, 2004, 94-96.

¹⁰⁷¹ Schachter, 2016, 145. For Boiotians on the Delphic Amphiktyony, see Paus. 10.8.4.

¹⁰⁷² The secretary of the *naopoioi* served as eponymous archon of the *koinon* – see Müller, 2014, 129.

to the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia (9.39.5-14) is one of the highlights of his description of Boiotia, yet on the Basileia he is silent, telling us only that the temple of Zeus Basileus was left unfinished, either because of its size or through the disruption of war (9.39.4). His silence is especially unfortunate given the debate about the relationship between the Trophoneia and the Basileia at Lebadeia.¹⁰⁷³ As noted in the previous chapter, while well documented in the first century BC, from the time of Augustus the Basileia is not named in any inscription, although a number from the first century AD mention games beside the Herkynna (such as *IG* II² 3158 and *IDel* 2552), which Knoepfler attributes to the Basileia, Schachter to the Trophoneia.¹⁰⁷⁴ No inscriptions, however, have been firmly dated to the second century AD for either *agōn*. Taken alongside the apparent disappearance of the Pamboiotia, this silence is interesting, although Knoepfler has suggested (seemingly without evidence) for a continuation of the Basileia throughout this period.¹⁰⁷⁵ Given the continued existence of the Boiotian *koinon*, and continued displays of Boiotian identity in festivals such as the Daidala – for which see below – the lack of evidence for the Basileia and Pamboiotia during and after the second century AD should perhaps not be taken as a sign of their non-existence.

7.5 The Festival of the Daidala at Plataia

During the second and third centuries AD, being Boiotian clearly still mattered. As mentioned above, from the third century AD we know of Flavia Laneika, the ‘priestess for life of Athena Itonia and the Boiotian *koinon*’ (*IG* VII 3426), and despite Pausanias’ relative silence on Boiotia and the Boiotian games during the latter half of the second century, he provides us with evidence of one final, unifying ritual of common Boiotian identity, the Daidala at Plataia (9.2.7–9.3.8), a rite whose structural organization, alongside its *aition* of reconciliation (as we know them from the second century AD), clearly demonstrate the ‘uneasy amalgam’ of Boiotian identity, with its compound of strong local identities (a reality reflected in the federal

¹⁰⁷³ The Trophoneia, which Knoepfler has suggested was a locally-run Basileia substitute operational when the *koinon* was not in existence – Knoepfler, 2008b, 1451 – reappears ca.AD 230-250, with competitors from the Greek mainland. See for example *FD* III 1.550, *IG* VII 49 (post-AD 242), *IG* II² 3169/3170 (ca.AD 253-257), *FD* III 1.555 (ca.AD 250) – see Knoepfler, 2008b, 1449.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Knoepfler, 2008, 1456; Schachter, 1994, 117.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Knoepfler, 2008b, 1460-1461.

nature of the political Boiotian *koinon*), as well as suggesting how that uneasy amalgam was effectively managed.

The festival of the Daidala at Plataia is known from two late and often contradictory sources - Plutarch (*fr.*157), who provides only an *aition* of the festival, and Pausanias (9.2.7–9.3.8), who gives a description of the ritual alongside a variant of the *aition*, and whose account is worth summarizing here.¹⁰⁷⁶ In the temple of Hera at Plataia Pausanias saw two statues of the goddess Hera, one standing and named ‘mature’ or ‘perfect’ (*Teleia*), the work of Praxiteles; the other seated and surnamed ‘the bride’ (*Nympheuomenē*), the work of Kallimachos. The latter Pausanias associated with the ritual of the Daidala, the epithet being linked to Hera’s estrangement from Zeus in Euboia, and Zeus’ efforts to win her back through a pretend marriage to the maiden Plataia, in truth a veiled wooden image.¹⁰⁷⁷ When Hera discovered the trick, she ‘reconciled with Zeus’ (*διαλλαγὰς ποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν Δία*).¹⁰⁷⁸ It was this reconciliation which the Daidala celebrated, alongside that of the Thebans and Plataians sometime after 315BC.¹⁰⁷⁹ The Plataians, so Pausanias’ guide informed him, celebrated what they called the ‘Small Daidala’ every six years (in the seventh year), in which a wooden image (*daidalon*) was created from a felled oak at Alalkomenai.¹⁰⁸⁰ Every sixty years they celebrated the ‘Great Daidala’ in which fourteen of the wooden idols prepared at the previous Small Daidala were burnt, this period being linked to the period of the Plataians’ exile during the fifth and fourth centuries; the mathematical discrepancy between the timings of the Small and Great Daidala and the fourteen required figures (fourteen times six does not equal sixty) leading Pausanias to reject his guide’s timings for the Small festival.¹⁰⁸¹ Whatever the correct solution

¹⁰⁷⁶ Plutarch gives an *aition* of the rite, but no details of the ritual itself – see Plut. *fr.* 157 (Sandbach 1967 = Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 3 Proem. 3.1 and 3.7.5-3.81). The complexity and contradiction of the accounts have allowed for a multitude of readings – see for example Frazer, 1913, 140 ff.; Farnell, 1896, 189ff.; Nilsson, 1906, 50-56, 1955, 130-131 and 431; Kirsten, 1950, col.2319-2325; Schachter, 1981, 242-250; Prandi, 1983, 82-94; Rocchi, 1989, 309-324; Avagianou, 1991; Clark, 1998, 13-26; Schachter, 2000, 9-17; Chaniotis, 2002, 23-48; Iversen, 2007, 381-418.

¹⁰⁷⁷ The Daidala was named from the wooden idols (*daidala*) used in the rite. Oddly, Hera was not the ‘bride’ in the rite as described by Pausanias.

¹⁰⁷⁸ 9.3.2.

¹⁰⁷⁹ A related term for reconciliation is also used in each - *διαλλαγὰς* (9.3.2) and *διαλλαγῆναι* (9.3.6). Chaniotis argues that the vocabulary was consciously chosen to suggest such a link - Chaniotis, 2002, 36. Thebes was destroyed by Alexander in 335BC and re-founded by Kassandros ca. 316/315BC Arr. *Ana.* 1.9; Diod. Sic. 17.11; 18.11; Plut. *Alex.* 3.4 and 11.9.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Boiled meat was placed on the ground, and the tree into which the first raven flew with a piece of meat was chosen - Paus. 9.3.4. On the choice of Alalkomenai, see below.

¹⁰⁸¹ The mathematical conundrum has baffled modern scholars as it did Pausanias. Pausanias’ rejection of the figure for the Small Daidala suggests his faith in the other figures and arguably a trusted source - Plutarch? Origin of 60 years: those between 447BC and 386BC - Prandi, 1983, 91-92 n.35; those between destruction of

to this mathematical conundrum, the central and consistent theme of the ritual, which Pausanias faithfully records, was the link with the Plataian exile and return.¹⁰⁸²

At the Great Daidala, the Plataians, Koroneians, Thespians, Tanagraians, Chaironeians, Orchomenians, Lebadeians and Thebans drew lots for the fourteen idols, with the smaller towns casting lots by sub-district (συντέλεια).¹⁰⁸³ These images were then adorned, washed in the river Asopos, placed on a cart with a woman as bridesmaid, and led in procession to the peak of Kithairon (Figure 27), the order of this procession again decided through the casting of lots. On the peak a huge wooden altar had been set up and here the magistrates of the cities each sacrificed a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus and burnt the victims together with the *daidala* in an all-consuming fire which Pausanias described as the largest and most visible from a distance that he knew of.

Much early scholarship on the Daidala sought to understand the origins and meaning of this complex rite in terms of its underlying religious motifs.¹⁰⁸⁴ More recently, attention has focused on its political dimension, especially as concerns the history and make-up of the Boiotian *koinon* both during the Hellenistic period and that of the Roman era.¹⁰⁸⁵ As Beck and Ganter have recently argued, while many of the details of the Daidala remain opaque, Pausanias' description offers insights into how the Boiotians came together to participate in the celebration in the second century AD.¹⁰⁸⁶ It is this aspect which interests me here. The main political theme of the rite is that of the reconciliation of Thebes with Plataia (9.3.6):

Plataia by Thebes in 373BC and return of Thebes to the Daidala ca.314BC - Beck and Ganter, 2015, 152; based on 'Great Year' of Oinopides of Chios - Strasser, 2004a, 341-342; celebrated whenever fourteen images had been created, which had been around 'two-generations' – 60 years – for Pausanias' guide - Schachter, 1981, 250. Mathematical solutions: Iversen rejects the sixty years and imagines a regular sequence of 6x14 years with a further six year gap before each Great Daidala - Iversen, 2007, 404; Knoepfler suggests a 1-3-6-3-6...3-1 pattern of alternating odd and even years - Knoepfler, 2001b, 367; Strasser suggests a 3-5-3 pattern ending with a six year break before the next Great Daidala - Strasser, 2004a, 340-341, 349.

¹⁰⁸² See especially Gartland, 2016, 93-94.

¹⁰⁸³ 9.3.6.

¹⁰⁸⁴ The motifs may be summarised as *Hieros gamos*: Avagianou, 1991, 27-73; Simon, 1972, 213ff; Jost, 1997, 88; Clark, 1998, 13-2; Chaniotis, 2002, 28-29, 38; Prandi 1983, 86ff.; Departure and return of a goddess: Burkert, 1988, 81-87; 1979, 132-134; 1985, 63; Schachter, 1981, 245-6; Fire and fertility-fecundity: Chaniotis, 2002, 29-30; Frazer, 1913, 140ff; Nilsson, 1906, 54-55; 1967, 130ff, 431 n.3; and Holocaust as reparation or sacrifice: Chaniotis, 2002, 28, 35; Frontisi-Ducroux, 1975, 213-215. Pötscher, 1987, 60; Clark, 1998, 25.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Of all the complex meanings entwined in the Daidala, the element of politics in the shape of the later rite is, according to Chaniotis, the easiest to demonstrate - Chaniotis, 2002, 39.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Beck and Ganter, 2015, 152.

διαλλαγῆναι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι Πλαταιεῦσιν ἡξίωσαν καὶ συλλόγου μετασχεῖν κοινοῦ καὶ ἐς Δαίδαλα θυσίαν ἀποστέλλειν

...for the Thebans also resolved to reconcile with the Plataians and partake in the *koinon* and send a sacrifice to the Daidala¹⁰⁸⁷

This *aition* of the Plataian exile (which followed soon after the attack on Plataia by Thebes in 431BC, one of the events which precipitated the Peloponnesian War) and the reconciliation with Thebes (whose return to the *koinon* arguably around the decade of the 280sBC provides a *terminus post quem*) locates this particular meaning for the ritual to a period no earlier than the first quarter of the third century BC, and possibly much later.¹⁰⁸⁸ Schachter has suggested that the rite that Pausanias describes was based on a learned reconstruction made several decades earlier by Plutarch, whose own lost ‘*On the Daidala at Plataia*’ suggests some degree of antiquity for the rite.¹⁰⁸⁹ The cult of Hera was already important at Plataia by the time of the Peloponnesian War, and a pan-Boiotian meaning pre-dating the return of Thebes to the Boiotian *koinon* cannot be ruled out, although the elaborate periodicity and the drawing of lots for the fourteen *daidala* were presumably the result of a later re-organisation.¹⁰⁹⁰ With its complex history and structure, the Daidala exhibits clear evidence of the ‘re-invention of

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Koinon* is not necessarily an accurate reading: it is unclear if this is referring to the Hellenistic political federation, or the later Roman period informal religious community.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Theban attack on Plataia - Thucydides 3.56.1; see also Prandi, 1988, 79-92. Knoepfler has suggested ca.287/286BC as the possible date for the return of Thebes to participation in the Daidala, this being the period from which Thebes seems to have returned to a closer association with the Boiotian *koinon* - Knoepfler, 2001b, 373. The ritual may well have been older, and Schachter has suggested a link between Hera *Teleia* at Plataia and a possible ritual mentioned in a Linear B document (fq121) found at Thebes where the word *te-re-ja-de* - a dative inferring movement towards - has been interpreted as referring to a shipment of items from Thebes to a festival of the *Teleia* - Schachter, 2000, 13-14; 2016, 10. Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi, 2003, 29; but c.f. Del Freo, 2009, 53. It should be noted that the Daidala is never called the *Teleia*; Hera is not mentioned in the Linear B text as the recipient of the cult; *Teleia* need not point to Plataia, or even Hera, Zeus also being linked to the epithet *Teleios* - see Cook, 1925, 977, 1076f, 1089, 1123.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Schachter, 2016, 143. What form or meaning the rite may have possessed before the reconciliation of Thebes and Plataia is unclear, but so elegant is the parallel between the reconciliation of the *poleis* with that of the quarrelling Olympians - Pausanias’ language may consciously reflect such a link (Chaniotis, 2002, 36) - that it is difficult to imagine that the Olympian aetiology pre-dates the Thebans’ return to the Boiotian fold post-315BC.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Pausanias’ wording that the Thebans wished ‘to partake in the *koinon* and sacrifice at the Daidala’ suggests a pre-existing link between the rite and the *koinon*; equally, the felling of oaks at Alalkomenai, linked to and lying close to the Federal Sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia, suggests a link of the Small Daidala to the *koinon*, this cutting of trees by the Plataians being unthinkable unless the ritual possessed a pan-Boiotian meaning to some degree - Knoepfler, 2001b, 370. Re-organizations of the festival have been suggested for 479 BC, 426 BC, 386 BC - Chaniotis, 2002, 37; ca. 317 or 315 BC when the re-founded Thebes may have become involved - Schachter 1981, 247f; Prandi 1983, 89; 338-315BC - Roesch, 1965, 104; post-338BC - Clark, 1998, 25; ca.287/286BC - Knoepfler, 2001b, 373. For a reconstruction of the political history of the Daidala, see Prandi, 1983, 86-94; Jost 1997, 91.

tradition’ – the re-creation and re-interpretation of rituals and games witnessed throughout this thesis - whose earliest Boiotian examples are arguably those rites linked to the migratory traditions.¹⁰⁹¹

In its second-century AD form, Pausanias tells us that each *daidalon* was chosen by lot by the eight cities of Plataia, Koroneia, Thespiiai, Tanagra, Chaironeia, Orchomenos, Lebadeia, and Thebes, the remaining six being taken by a combination of smaller unnamed towns. Knoepfler sees such a system as evidence that during the second century AD, organization by *telē* (the districts which had been integral in the political and military structure of the Hellenistic Boiotian *koinon* and whose existence was still in evidence in the organization of the Basileia and Pamboiotia during the first century BC), remained central to the ritual’s structure, although by necessity he rejects the specifics of Pausanias’ account as inaccurate.¹⁰⁹² Instead Knoepfler suggests that each of the seven *telē* were allotted two *daidala*.¹⁰⁹³ There is no inherent reason why each *telos* would cast lots for two *daidala* and not one (unless the fourteen figures had a separate meaning as Iversen has argued), although such a distribution would allow the smaller *poleis* of certain *telē* – Orchomenos and Chaironeia for example - to each cast lots for their own *daidalon*, while the larger *poleis* such as Thebes, Thespiiai, and Tanagra, cast lots for two.¹⁰⁹⁴ It is possible, of course, that the system of *telē* in the second century AD was no longer the same as that of the previous centuries, and that it had evolved to fit the present circumstances just as it had adapted to them previously, and was much as Pausanias described.¹⁰⁹⁵

The system of *telē* by which the federal Hellenistic *koinon* had been structured served the express purpose of maintaining the ‘uneasy amalgam’ of strongly independent *poleis*

¹⁰⁹¹ See for example the Daphnephoria as discussed in above at 1.3 and 2.4.

¹⁰⁹² Knoepfler, 2001b, 350, 355, 361, 370. On the organization of the *koinon* by *telē*, see Chapter Two and *Hell. Oxy.* 16.4, 19.2–4; Mackil, 2013, 371; see also Roesch, 1965, 46. The original eleven *telē* had presumably been reduced to seven with the loss of Orchomenos and Thespiiai (each of which had previously consisted of two *telē*). Roesch however has argued that the Hellenistic *koinon* was organised without recourse to districts - Roesch, 1982, 501. A few inscriptions (*IG* VII 2724b; *SEG* 15.282 amongst others) name eight *aphedriates* or Boiotarchs, the eighth representing a region outside Boiotia – such as Chalkis, and Opuntian Lokris. For *telē* in Basileia see *IG* VII 3078; Pamboiotia, *IG* VII 1764, 2871.

¹⁰⁹³ Knoepfler, 2001b, 356.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Iversen has suggested that the fourteen *daidala* represent fourteen missed cycles of the Little Daidala during the periods of exile, these being the festivals of 431BC (1), 425 (2); 419 (3); 413 (4); 407 (5); 401 (6); 395 (7); 389 (8); 371 (9); 365 (10); 359 (11); 353 (12); 347 (13); 341 (14), the first Great Daidala being celebrated in 335BC, the next in 245BC at which time the Thebans had joined in - Iversen, 2007, 413–414.

¹⁰⁹⁵ See Chapters Two and Three. In 395BC eleven *telē* are known; during the Theban hegemony, just seven (if the seven Boiotarchs of this period are linked to *telē*); and then seven new *telē* following the re-founding of Thebes after 315BC.

wherein no single *polis* was able to gain overall control.¹⁰⁹⁶ In a similar manner, the casting of lots at the Daidala to decide the order of procession up Kithairon maintained this system of fairness, as did the allotment of *daidala* by *polis* or sub-district. If the details of Pausanias' system were a reflection of the present reality (reflecting the disappearance of some of the *poleis*, such as Haliartos, and the promotion of others, such as Chaironeia), such flexibility would itself suggest a continuing 're-invention of tradition', a characteristic adaptation to present circumstances, and of the creative use of the traditional past as a source of present prestige as seen throughout this thesis.¹⁰⁹⁷ Given the supposed sixty-year periodicity, re-invention was anyway unavoidable. The prominence of the *polis* magistrates in Pausanias' account (whose collected presence at the ritual is so reminiscent of the agonistic networks suggested by Pindar, and more particularly those prominent families of the first century BC) suggests both an active role in this (re-)organization and re-invention, alongside the importance of this pan-Boiotian ritual as a source of aristocratic prestige, so typical of the rituals examined throughout this thesis. Equally, with its overriding meaning of reconciliation, of the unification through ritual of the in-fighting Boiotians into a single community, the Daidala is itself emblematic of the processes examined in the first chapters of this study, of the 'argument from unity' and Boiotian ethnogenesis – i.e. the unification of the Boiotian *ethnos* through common festivals and cult.

The Daidala stands as the last attested example of a communal Boiotian festival, a ritual whose very *aition* celebrated the reconciliation of the in-fighting communities as a unified whole, and whose possible organization by *telē* (at the very least selection by lot), revealed something of the solution by which the Boiotians had successfully maintained the uneasy amalgam in the federal state.¹⁰⁹⁸ Not only was the Daidala a celebration of the continued

¹⁰⁹⁶ Mackil, 2013, 224; Müller, 2011, 261–282.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Because of the destruction of cities such as Haliartos, Pausanias' list cannot reflect the rites' fourth-century BC make up – see Prandi 1983, 92f.; Jost 1997, 91; Chanotis, 2002, 36 n.36. Schachter has suggested that Pausanias' list relies in part on the work of Plutarch, who may in fact be responsible for his home town Chaironeia being named (Schachter, 1981, 248–249). Perhaps in the imperial world certain of the *poleis* were promoted from being members of one shared district to forming one on their own – Pausanias' list would suggest Lebadeia, Koroneia, Chaironeia, and Orchomenos.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Something of the force needed to maintain this equilibrium might be seen in the ritual itself, where the animal sacrifice might be seen as an oath of loyalty, with the holocaust of the *daidala* a warning of the punishment for perjuring the oath and breaking the union – see Knoepfler, 2001b, 372; Rocchi, 1989, 323–324. Mount Kithairon was linked in myth to the Erinyes – linked to oaths by Hesiod *Op.* 803 – so there are hints at such a thing, although Pausanias does not mention it. In addition, the details of the festival also remind us how Boiotian identity had been a fusion of different parts: the *daidala* themselves, for example, were reminiscent of the saffron-robed *kopō* carried in procession to the Theban Ismenion; the mountain-top location was itself a

existence of a unified Boiotia, a unity sworn in sacrifice and declared to the outside world through the most widely visible fire Pausanias was aware of, but through its very structure - bringing the elites of the scattered *poleis* together for the celebration of a common unifying ritual - it recreated the very process through which the Boiotian *ethnos* had first developed during the Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods, and by which it had been maintained throughout the period of Roman domination. Through the complexity of its organization, and the continued independence of its parts even within this unity – each *polis* or community casting lots for its own *daidalon*, leading its own cart up to the top of Kithairon and vying for pole position – the Daidala was also emblematic of that unique combination of the local and communal, which characterized the ever ‘uneasy amalgam’ of Boiotian identity.

7.6 Summary: Boiotia Lost?

Pausanias’ evidence for the Boiotian *agōnes* is limited, restricted by his own particular interests and agenda. His awareness of the Eleutheria is unsurprising given its link to the Persian War, as is his interest in the well-known Mouseia and Erotideia. As such, his silence on other *agōnes* ought not to be taken as proof of their absence. Yet epigraphic evidence from the second and third century AD is lacking for several the previously celebrated games. In addition to those *agōnes* already lost in the first century (the Charitesia and Homoloia at Orchomenos, the Soteria at Akraiphia), no evidence exists for the Amphiaraia at Oropos from the second century AD onwards, nor, more importantly, for the Pamboiotia or the Basileia. The disappearance of these latter two games is strange given the central role they had played in fostering Boiotian identity (being the games most closely associated with the military victories of the Boiotians, mythical and historical).¹⁰⁹⁹ The Boiotian *koinon* was still meeting at the Itionion at this period, and the disappearance of these games would ask serious questions about the modes of self-expression of the Boiotians as a group at this time. The lack of evidence for the Pamboiotia, the only games to maintain the purely athletic/hippic early Boiotian agonistic tradition, and whose events had involved competitions for military teams from the Boiotian

reminder of Zeus Karaios, Zeus of the Summits, one of the most important of the Boiotian gods - Beck and Ganter, 2015, 152.

¹⁰⁹⁹ And given their assumed role in maintaining something of the structure of the Hellenistic *koinon* into the period of Roman domination – see Müller, 2014, 136, who names the Basileia, alongside the Delia and Ptoia as playing such a role.

telē, is especially curious. And yet, as I will argue in the next section, the link with Boiotia's military heritage may have been continued in the rites of the *ephēbeia*.

The post-Civil War decline, I have suggested in the previous chapters, might be understood as compounded of financial strain and the collapse of the agonistic circuit which had been created in Boiotia (against the dominant trend throughout the rest of Greece) by the actions of Sulla after the Mithridatic War. The first century AD saw no great improvement, and indeed by the second century the games at Oropos - whose flourishing in the first century BC seems to have been the grounding for the Boiotian agonistic success of that century - seem to have disappeared entirely, at least from the epigraphic record. During the second century AD, when the Eastern Greek world was enjoying what Robert has classed as an 'agonistic explosion', the Boiotian *agōnes* seem even further curtailed, with the loss of the pan-Boiotian Basileia and Pamboiotia (if the epigraphic silence is correct), and a reduction in status of the remaining festivals, the Ptoia, Mouseia and Erotideia.¹¹⁰⁰ Evidence of financial strain may be seen in the 'downgrading' of these games from *stephanitēs* to *thematikos* by the second century AD. As I discussed above, the scope of the Mouseia during this period was as wide – perhaps wider - than that of the first century AD well into the third century AD. Why then did the games lose their 'sacred' status, especially when such a status was being actively sought at an increasing rate by the *poleis* of the Roman Greek world during the second and third centuries AD?¹¹⁰¹ The answer, it appears, is to be found in the centralized rebranding of *agōnes* which occurred during the second century AD. During the Hellenistic period, each *polis*, league, or kingdom had a different list of games that it considered stephanitic, individually choosing whether to accept the stephanitic status of a contest or not.¹¹⁰² But from the reign of Trajan at the latest, it was the emperor who was petitioned to decide the status of the games, with the category of sacred games now subdivided into normal sacred games - for which a victor received exemption from civic obligations such as taxes and liturgies - and eiselastic sacred games (ἀγῶνες ἱεροὶ (καὶ) εἰσελαστικοί) - for which a victor could also expect a festive entry in the city (*eiselasis*) and a monthly allowance (*opsōnia*).¹¹⁰³ Not all sacred games were granted

¹¹⁰⁰ Robert, 1984, 38 – followed by an equally impressive implosion in late antiquity, with most games gone by AD 350. See also Remijsen, 2015, 30.

¹¹⁰¹ On the measures taken by Diocletian ca. AD 300 to counter the financial strain resulting from this inflation in the number of sacred agones, see Remijsen, 2015, 312.

¹¹⁰² Remijsen, 2015, 209; Pleket, 2010, 175-203.

¹¹⁰³ Remijsen, 2015, 58, 242; Miller, 2004, 207. Victors of thematic contests enjoyed no such privileges at home, but might still return there with valuable prizes won abroad - Remijsen, 2015, 30.

eiselastic status, only the most important, and it seems that the Boiotian *agōnes* were not included. With the cream of the athletes tending now to favour only the eiselastic games with their catalogues of privileges and pensions, it made sense for the non-eiselastic sacred games to ‘downgrade’ in order to be able to offer cash prizes as an incentive to tempt the ‘big stars’ as Strasser calls them; thus the Boiotian *agōnes* – in a reversal of the Hellenistic pattern – increased their appeal by abandoning their sacred status.¹¹⁰⁴ In this way Boiotia maintained its (albeit reduced) place in the agonistic world of the second and third centuries AD, adapting to fit the financial circumstances, continuing to attract competitors from across the Greek world to its illustrious games like the Mouseia, the Ptoia, and the Theban Herakleia.

It is, however, the apparent disappearance of the Boiotian-themed games of the Pamboiotia and the Basileia which stands out as the most interesting losses of the period. If the epigraphic silence is a true reflection on the state of affairs, this would speak of a turning away of interest in these *collective* forms of self-expression by the wealthy elite (whose money, after all, funded these games), towards the concerns of their separate *poleis*. It could be argued that after centuries with little in the way of common political action, there was less incentive to promote ‘Boiotianness’ any more on a wider agonistic stage, and more to be gained from expressing oneself in the *milieu* of the *polis* itself. Thinking cynically for a moment, the *koinon* of the second and third centuries, with its role in the organization of Boiotia’s religious life and little else, was no longer as effective as an arena for the display of elite ambition (at least not at a political level), although doubtless remained a continued source of internal prestige. Rome’s interest in the Basileia was minimal, and in the insular Pamboiotia, non-existent; Boiotia as a whole seems not to have held much cultural *caché* with Rome, as compared to the illustrious pasts of its individual cities. Boiotia’s Medism could not have helped, while the reputation of Boiotian stupidity was ever present and had by this time reached Rome.¹¹⁰⁵ Pausanias himself is curiously silent on Boiotia as a whole, at least as agent.¹¹⁰⁶ Yet this in itself might be a result of a more general phenomenon of Roman Greece, namely the political

¹¹⁰⁴ Strasser, 2003, 273.

¹¹⁰⁵ Plutarch relates in his own day the people of Attica still considered the Boiotians ‘thick and stupid and foolish, especially because of their gluttony’ (παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἡλιθίους, μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀδηφαγίας - *De esu carnum*, 1.6 [995e]). Cicero sought to provide a scientific explanation for the same phenomenon (de fato 7), blaming the ‘thick air’ of Thebes. In addition, Horace (*Ep.* 2.1.244), Tertullian (*de Anima* 20), and Cornelius Nepos (*Alcib.* 11, *Epam.* 5), all took their turns attacking the Boiotians’ traditional dullness and stupidity. See Rhys Roberts, 1895, 1-9 for more literary attacks on the Boiotians, and his lively defence.

¹¹⁰⁶ One wonders if the important role played by Thebes in his account represents something of a breaking down of Boiotia as a concept, in favour of the *poleis*?

meaninglessness of its former regions. Pausanias himself celebrates the narrowly local and the more generally Hellenic, yet is curiously silent on the regional identities in-between.¹¹⁰⁷ Hadrian's Panhellenion, an organization created in AD 131/132, was itself an organization of individual *cities*, not regions, the wider traditional Hellenic prestige of the individual *polis* often the critical factor in its acceptance into this group.¹¹⁰⁸ A letter from Hadrian to the people of Naryka in eastern Lokris in AD 137 or 138 confirms the *polis* status of the city and mentions its membership of the Panhellenion, the emperor here citing Naryka's celebrated poetic links with the Lesser Ajax.¹¹⁰⁹ Important for our topic, Lokrian Naryka is also named as belonging to the Boiotian *koinon*, to whom they sent a Boiotarch, something which suggests an increasingly fluid identity of the Boiotian *koinon* at this time.¹¹¹⁰ Flavia Laneika, 'priestess for life of Athena Itonia and the Boiotian *koinon*' (*IG VII 3426*), was also named as priestess of the *koinon* of the Phokians; and an inscription from Amphikleia in eastern Phokis from the first quarter or so of the third century AD, records the dedication of a statue of a man who had been both a Boiotarch and a Phokarch.¹¹¹¹ Gaius Curtius Proclus, a Megarian, is also named as a Boiotarch around the time of Hadrian in the second century AD (*IG VII 106*).¹¹¹² Exactly what this means for Boiotian identity is unclear, especially in the light of Goldhill's statement that local identity presupposes the defining of boundaries and the exclusion of other.¹¹¹³ But in a recent paper Knoepfler has argued that the evidence clearly points to 'l'extension du *Koinon* au-delà de ses frontières ethniques', and even Pausanias' description of Boiotia includes some of the traditionally East Lokrian coastal area such as Larymna.¹¹¹⁴ Such blurred divisions may suggest something of a lack of interest at a political and ideological level. After all, if the

¹¹⁰⁷ On the local as the heart of Pausanias' construction of Greece, see Whitmarsh, 2010, 14 and Goldhill, 2010, 46-68. In a sense the *koinon* of the Boiotians, as those other regional identities, seems to have been losing ground to what Isocrates (*Paneg.* 34) referred to as *to koinotaton*, the 'most common shared thing', the Hellenic. On Isocrates *koinotaton* see Goldhill, 2010, 48.

¹¹⁰⁸ On the Panhellenion as a cultural and political institution, see Spawforth and Walker, 1985, 78.

¹¹⁰⁹ See Jones, 2006, 151-162; Cooley and Salway, 2012, 203-204; Knoepfler and Pasquier, 2006, 1306-1313.

¹¹¹⁰ Schachter, 2016, 142; *SEG* 51.641.

¹¹¹¹ Schachter, 2016, 142; *IG IX* 1.218. Schachter also points to cult connections between the two regions as revealed by Pausanias, with the Tithoreans stealing earth from the grave of Amphion at Thebes (9.17.4-7), and the Daidala at Plataia (9.3.1-8) reminiscent of the holocaust at Tithorea (10.32.13-15) – see Schachter, 2016, 143.

¹¹¹² Again, Schachter suggests that Pausanias records mythical ties between the two regions at 1.39.5 – see Schachter, 2016, 124 and n.23.

¹¹¹³ Goldhill, 2010, 47-48.

¹¹¹⁴ Knoepfler, 2012, 246. Megara and Lokris had been members of the Hellenistic *koinon*. Megara joined the Boiotian the *koinon* in 224BC; Opuntian Lokris – around 234BC Demetrios II wrested Opuntian Lokris from the Aitolians and attached it to the Boiotian *koinon*, where it remained until circa 228BC – Mackil, 2013, 107; Étienne and Knoepfler, 1976, 331-41. Larymna etc. – see Schachter, 2016, 144. Paus. 9.24.3-5.

traditional regions of Greece were no longer as meaningful as forms of active government (replaced instead by the *polis* and Province), then they naturally lost something of their former status as *loci* of political ambition, and of the exercise of power and prestige. Even so, they were not wholly meaningless, as the mention of the Boiotian *koinon* in the Naryka letter makes plain. It is simply that the regional, in this case the Boiotian, was no longer an arena in which the local elite could flex their muscles and display their political clout quite so effectively (or visibly). As such, regional identity became a less effective medium for the expression of elite ambition and self-expression than that of the *polis*. Once again, this is not to say that consciousness of being Boiotian disappeared (witness the Daidala at Plataia and the continued existence of the *koinon*), but Boiotia had always been an uneasy compromise between *polis* and collective identity. By the second century, the centuries without a politically meaningful Boiotia had evidently taken their toll, and individual *polis* identity seems to have gained the upper hand.

The evidence on which such ideas are based is limited, and nothing certain can be stated here. The apparent disappearance of the typically pan-Boiotian games may simply represent the capriciousness of survival, or a change in epigraphic habit, with the emphasis on the local merely reflecting a change of emphasis in which games and festivals the local elites themselves chose to record their involvement with. In line with the celebration of the local and Hellenic as seen, for example, in Hadrian's Panhellenion, epigraphic evidence continues strongly for games with local and Hellenic interest: those games which lasted into the third century AD were precisely those meaningful at the higher Hellenic level, such as the Eleutheria at Plataia, or those attached firmly to a single *polis*, the Mouseia at Thespiiai, the Ptoia at Akraiphia, the Trophoneia at Lebadeia (Trophonius continuing to play his role as famous oracle at this time), and the Herakleia at Thebes. Yet even these games had disappeared by the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, like the games all over the Greek world. Economic and demographic factors lie behind much of this decline and eventual disappearance, and the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity doubtless aided this process.¹¹¹⁵ The third century saw a changed Empire, where a reduced number of rural producers (a result in part of

¹¹¹⁵ The games at Olympia, Ephesus, and on the Isthmus, all came to an end in the period between ca. AD 410 and 435. In this quarter century, the basic framework of major games, to which the whole agonistic circuit had traditionally been attached, collapsed. Remijsen, 2015, 167. Remijsen argues against a simple cause and effect between Christianity and the disappearance of games, noting that while roughly contemporary, the two phenomena did not follow the exact same chronological and geographical pattern – Remijsen, 2015, 174.

a number of epidemics) made elite incomes less secure, and where the central government increasingly tried to control provincial civic life from the ground up, limiting the room for manoeuvre of local elites, many of whom withdrew to their landed estates.¹¹¹⁶ So the trend to euergetism foundered; the games began to dry up. The fourth century AD saw an increase in rural settlement and intensive agriculture, and a *decrease* in nucleation, in part a response to rising taxation.¹¹¹⁷ For the remaining elite, increasing financial burdens led to a movement away from the attainment of magistracies and the funding of games, while the centralization of power further weakened the civic drive, the fuel on which the agonistic engine ran, until eventually it stalled and died.¹¹¹⁸

7.7 Boiotian identity and the *Ephēbeia*

As I discussed above, the apparent disappearance of the Basileia and Pamboiotia, alongside the continuation of the Ptoia at Akraiphia, the Herakleia at Thebes, and the reappearance of the Trophoneia at Lebadeia, represents a shift of focus for the ruling elites towards the local and away from the collectively ‘Boiotian’ at least in the realm of *agōnes*. The apparent loss of the militaristic Boiotian games – especially the Pamboiotia at which teams of soldiers from the various Boiotian districts (*telē*) had competed against each other – would seem to have ended the long-standing traditional links between the Boiotian *agōnes* and their military heritage, but as I will argue below, these links continued to be celebrated at the local *polis* level through the medium of the Boiotian *ephēbeia*, the military-based system of training and initiation for which Pausanias gives us a number of tantalizing glimpses and for which the epigraphic evidence suggests something of blossoming at this time.¹¹¹⁹

No full account of Boiotian *agōnes* and identity would be complete without a look at the specifically ephebic competitions which are found throughout Boiotia from the first to the third centuries AD.¹¹²⁰ I have on a few occasions alluded to these *agōnes*, especially where it is

¹¹¹⁶ Zuiderhoek, 2009, 155-156.

¹¹¹⁷ Alcock, 1993, 219. *IG* VII 24, for example, from AD 401/402 mentions the movement of grain from Boiotia.

¹¹¹⁸ Alcock, 1993, 219-220; Remijsen, 2015, 345.

¹¹¹⁹ On the close links of military training and athletics -and by extension *agones* – see Golden, 1998, 142-144; König, 2005, 23. The later disparity between military tactics and the goings on in the Greek gymnasium was questioned by writers such as the second-century AD Lucian of Samosata in his dialogue *Anacharsis*.

¹¹²⁰ See appendix for table of *ephēbeia* in Boiotia. Evidence of the *ephēbeia per se* is found as early as the fourth century BC, although that of associated games is later.

unclear if an inscription to an otherwise unknown *agōn* is referring to a normal competitive *agōn* or an ephebic one, such as with the first century AD Kaisareia at Tanagra, the possible Sebasteia at Akraiphia, and the Kaisareia and [...] at Lebadeia.¹¹²¹ With the apparent disappearance of the Pamboiotia in the second century AD, the continued militaristic training and self-expression found in the *ephēbeia* takes on an even greater importance. A series of inscriptions linked to the *ephēbeia* at Tanagra during the third century AD record a vast array of ephebic games at that particular *polis* linked especially to the tutelary ephebic deities Hermes and Herakles.¹¹²² It is these deities especially who receive by far the most attention in Pausanias' description of Boiotia.¹¹²³ This bias towards the ephebic deities, alongside the evidence Pausanias gives of ephebic practice, suggests the *ephēbeia* as an important source of local traditional information for Pausanias, and as an important carrier of *internal* Boiotian and local *polis* identity. Such identity seems less concerned with Roman cultural caché or *external* cultural currency, than with a sense of living tradition, of identity tied to place.¹¹²⁴ This link of identity and place is an important concept. Both man-made monuments and the natural landscape played an important role in making memory concrete, in producing 'lieux de mémoire' – places of memory - tangible links to a living past.¹¹²⁵ Through his guides, Pausanias provides us access to those landscapes and monuments the Boiotians themselves imbued with meaning and memory; that so many of these speak of Hermes and (unsurprisingly) Herakles, may point to the ephebes themselves as a 'memory community', responsible for some of the local strands which made up the rich tapestry of Boiotian mythic topography. Such a picture is preferable to that of overexcited guides wishing to impress their exotic traveller by turning every rock into a plaything of Herakles. This idea, so vividly expounded by Frazer, of the poor traveller (modern and ancient alike), pounced upon by the misinformed local guides of a certain class has been thankfully rejected by Jones, who imagines Pausanias' informants rather as the

¹¹²¹ See *IG VII* 1857 for Kaisareia at Tanagra; *IG VII* 2712 (II.22-23) for Sebasteia – gymnastic games with sacrifices to Hermes, Herakles (traditional ephebic deities), and the emperors; *IG VII* 3106 for Kaisareia and [...] at Lebadeia.

¹¹²² For inscriptions (*SEG* 59.492; *IG XII Suppl.* 646; *OMS II* 1275-1281), see below.

¹¹²³ See summary below. Herakles is of course prevalent in the whole of Pausanias' *Periegesis*; Hawes uses Pausanias' various descriptions of the hero-god in the Greek landscape as exempla of the different ways myths and spaces interact – see Hawes, 2017, 5-9.

¹¹²⁴ See for example Hawes, 2014, 187-188.

¹¹²⁵ Alcock, 2002, 28-32. Alcock talks of an 'archaeology of meaning'; how each monument and landscape had its own multiplicity of meanings - depending on the expectations, needs, and knowledge of the different audiences – and asks what it was that the people chose to remember, and who it was that formulated these remembrances; were there different memory communities? Alcock, 2002, 27-32. On 'lieux de mémoire' see Nora, 1984–1992; Gangloff, 2013, 1-26; Jequier, 2013, 22-36.

kind of society that Plutarch describes in his *Table Talks* and Pythian dialogues, with its mixture of ‘sophists, professors of literature, philosophers, lawyers, doctors, and wealthy amateurs’.¹¹²⁶ Such men ought to be imagined as products of both a specifically Boiotian *ephēbeia*, with its local fund of traditions, and a more general *paideia* which Bowie has argued differed very little from place to place across the Hellenic world.¹¹²⁷

7.7.1 Herakles, Hermes, and Ephebes in Pausanias’ Boiotia

The *ephēbeia* (the state-funded and state-controlled system of citizen training for youths), was an Athenian invention of the fourth century BC, although forerunners had existed.¹¹²⁸ The formalization, if not creation, of the *ephēbeia* in Athens, under Epicrates’ guidance and possibly that of Lycurgus, made compulsory a two year period of military training for eighteen and nineteen year olds, probably induced by the threat of Macedon following either the victory of Philip II at Chaironeia in 338BC, or Alexander’s destruction of Thebes in 335BC.¹¹²⁹ Most, if not all, Greek cities already possessed rituals to mark the transition from boy to adult citizen warrior, and some may have involved practices resembling military training.¹¹³⁰

The heyday of the Athenian military *ephēbeia* was in the early Hellenistic period after which the Athenian system began to lose its military focus (from about the second century BC onwards).¹¹³¹ In Boiotia, the first half of the third century BC sees the beginning of a series of lists which continue down until the Augustan period recording the accession of year classes of ephebes into the Boiotian League army, a sign of the ephebate’s continuing military role.¹¹³²

¹¹²⁶ Jones, 2001, 39. Frazer, 1898, Ixxvi-Ixxvii.

¹¹²⁷ Bowie, 2013, 177.

¹¹²⁸ Kennell, 2006, ix. See also Sekunda, 2013, 200. On the state of the *ephēbeia* ca.322BC see Ps.-Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 42.1-5.

¹¹²⁹ After 338BC - Casey, 2013, 418; after 335BC - Friend, 2009, 875-98. The earliest epigraphic evidence of the term is from ca.100BC (*IG* II² 1028 l.43) although it may be restored in a third-century BC inscription (*IG* II² 700 l.16 and *SEG* 26.98) – see Friend, 2009, 8 n.14.

¹¹³⁰ Kennell, 2006, ix. At Athens, this military training developed to include an intellectual element, with late fourth-century orators emphasising qualities such as arete and sophrosyne beside manly courage (*andreia*), a change perhaps encouraged by the Stoic Zeno at the start of the third century BC. On mixture of intellectual and manly virtues see Hyperides 6.8; Roisman, 2005, 176-185, 193-199; Casey, 2013, 418-419, 426.

¹¹³¹ Although the change was not sudden or complete, and military features continued to be important and widely imitated for a long time – see König, 2005, 55.

¹¹³² Kennell, 2006, x-xi. For example, in a Theban inscription ca.10 BC-AD 10 (*IG* VII 2442) we are given a list of men who have ‘passed from the ephebes into the tagma,’ (ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀ[π]εληλυθότες εἰς τάγμα), the tagma being a unit or division of what we must assume at this period was the Theban army.

The Roman period witnessed an upturn in the *ephēbeia* at Athens, where the *naumachia* – a mock naval contest – suggests both the continued importance of Athens’ military past in the Roman period, and the continued ideological links between ephebic training and military prowess.¹¹³³ In an era of military impotence, the significance of such an expression of manly virtue, alongside the intellectual *paideia*, ought not to be underestimated.¹¹³⁴ If the Athenian model has any bearing on the Boiotian *ephēbeia* during this period, then the ‘privatization’ of the *ephēbeia* in the hands of a number of elite families from the first century AD onwards suggests that by Pausanias’ time the *ephēbeia* may have been the concern of the prominent families of each *polis*, the very people whom Pausanias met on his travels.¹¹³⁵ The emphasis on ephebic deities in Pausanias’ account might have some link to this.

Inscriptions reveal the institution of the *ephēbeia* as a continuous tradition inside Boiotia from the end of the fourth century BC down to the late Roman period.¹¹³⁶ Many of the earlier inscriptions speak of the ephebes and their arrangement into military units (*tagmata*), and specialist units such as the shield-carrying infantry (*peltophorai*), revealing the link between the *ephēbeia* and the structure of the Boiotian army, a pattern also reflected in the military team games of the Pamboiotia.¹¹³⁷ The continuation of these ephebic rites into the Roman period, post-dating the dismemberment of the Boiotian *koinon* and its army, speaks of their continued importance despite the loss of their main *raison d'être*. Clearly the individual *poleis* of Boiotia continued to produce military-trained ephebes during the first century BC at least.¹¹³⁸ The evidence for ephebic *agōnes* at this time, as I have discussed above, is limited to the possibly ephebic first-century AD Kaisareia at Tanagra, and the Kaisareia and [...] at Lebadeia, and the Sebasteia at Akraiphia. Yet as will be discussed below, evidence from third-century AD

¹¹³³ Newby, 2005, 168-201.

¹¹³⁴ Casey has argued that at Athens the intellectual *paideia* of the *ephēbeia* was every bit as important at this time, creating a new philosophic identity not subject to the whims of politics - Casey, 2013, 437.

¹¹³⁵ On the development of the Athenian *ephēbeia* see Perrin-Saminadayar, 2004, 87-103.

¹¹³⁶ An especially useful summary of evidence can be found in Roesch, 1982, 339-354. The first (tentative) literary evidence for the *ephēbeia* in Boiotia comes from Diogenes Laertius who mentions a story of a Theban philosopher Crates (fl.325BC), a pupil of Diogenes the Cynic, who took his son to a brothel after he had ceased to be an ephebe - ὅτ' ἐξ ἐφήβων ἐγένετο (6.88).

¹¹³⁷ See Chapter Three. The final victory lists for the Pamboiotia, dating from the first century BC, are almost devoid of mention of the team events, but their presence in *IG VII 2871*, which mentions Θεσπιέων τὸ τέλος (1.17) – ‘the *telos* of Thespiiai’, suggests their continuation.

¹¹³⁸ The role played by Homoloïchos and Anaxidamos in Sulla’s victory at Thourion (Plutarch *Sulla* 17.9-12) is a case in point, as is the inscription *IG VII 2442*, mentioned above, concerning epheboi passing into the Theban *tagma*.

Tanagra of a wide range of ephebic competition suggests that such games may have been an important feature of the local Boiotian *ephēbeia*.

Herakles and Hermes were the ephebic deities *par excellence*.¹¹³⁹ As Parker has stated for Athens, by the fourth century BC, the first context in which any young Athenian will have encountered Hermes was as patron, along with Herakles, of the gymnasium.¹¹⁴⁰ Herakles was named as a witness to the oath of the ephebes at Akharnai, but while his sanctuary at Kynosarges played an important role at the battle of Marathon, any other military role Herakles may have played for the Athenians seems, so Parker states, to have ‘slipped through our documentation’.¹¹⁴¹ In contrast, the preponderance of traditions (especially military traditions) linked to the ephebic deities Herakles and Hermes in Boiotia speaks, in part at least, of the importance of the *ephēbeia* in Boiotia as a carrier of local tradition.

It is Herakles especially who dominates the mythic topography of Pausanias’ Boiotia. Those sites linked specifically to Herakles’ ephebic or military aspects include the following: the Ismenion at Thebes where Pausanias describes a tripod dedicated by Amphytryon for Herakles when he was the youthful *daphnephoros* (9.10.4); the sanctuary of Herakles *Promachos* (Champion) at Thebes (9.11.4); the gymnasium and racecourse of Herakles (9.11.7); the Theban Sanctuary of Artemis *Eukleia* where Herakles dedicated a stone lion following his victory against Orchomenos (9.17.2); the gymnasium of Iolaos (9.23.1); the sanctuary of Herakles *Rhinokoloustes* (nose-docker) named for the treatment meted out by the hero to Orchomenian heralds sent to demand tribute (9.25.4); and the sanctuary of Herakles *Hippodetos* (Binder of Horses), named after his tying up the horses of the Orchomenian army, presumably the army who had retaliated following the nose-docking (9.26.1).¹¹⁴² A similar, if less extensive, list can be assembled for Hermes: the sanctuaries of Hermes *Kriophoros* (Ram- Bearer) and *Promachos* (Champion) at Tanagra were named through acts of the god, *Kriophoros* being named for the god’s warding off plague through carrying a ram (κρίός) around the town wall - following which a beautifully-shaped young man was chosen to go round the circuit of the wall with a ram or lamb (ἀρνός) on his shoulders - and Hermes

¹¹³⁹ See for example Wilkins, 1990, 334-335, who describes Herakles role as that of *kourotrophos*.

¹¹⁴⁰ Parker, 2005, 391. See for example Pausanias 4.32.1.

¹¹⁴¹ Oath of Akharnai ca. 350-325 BC, see *SEG* 16.140 and *RO* 88; lack of Herakles evidence, see Parker, 2005, 402.

¹¹⁴² Full list of Herakles-related sites: 9.10.4; 9.11.1-4, 6-7; 9.17.1-3; 9.19.5; 9.23.1; 9.24.3; 9.25.2,4; 9.26.1; 9.27.6; 9.32.2; 9.34.5; 9.38.6-7.

Promachos from his ‘leading of the Tanagran youths’ (ἐφήβους ἐξαγαγεῖν) against invaders from Euboea (9.22.1-2); while the sanctuary of Hermes *Promachos* boasted a strawberry tree which had nourished the young Hermes (9.22.2), doubtless part of the same local Boiotian or Tanagran legend which had the god born at Tanagran Mt. Kerykion (9.20.3).¹¹⁴³

For many of these instances (especially those listed in the footnotes), no link with the *ephēbeia* need be advocated, but a number display definite signs of links to the institution. The mention of Amphitryon’s dedication of a tripod at the Theban Daphnephoria – the rite in which the son of a prominent family was made priest of Apollo Ismenios for a year – clearly reveals a link of the rite to the youthful (ephebic) Herakles, and Schachter has suggested that the yearly *daphnephoros* may by Pausanias’ time have been chosen by an annual ephebic competition amongst the Theban elite.¹¹⁴⁴ The description of the *daphnephoros* in Proklos equally paints a picture of an ephebic rite, with his hair hanging long and loose, in a garment reaching down to his feet, perhaps in imitation of Apollo, or equally in imitation of the coiffure and clothing of a girl, a common element of the rites of passage of boys and seen for example in Pausanias’ description of Theseus on his arrival at Athens as an ephebe.¹¹⁴⁵ In addition, the military footwear – the *Iphikratides* or *Epikratides* – suggest a military/ephebic link, while the physical proximity of the Ismenion with the adjoining Herakleion, where the youth and young men of Thebes received their military training, is also worth noting.¹¹⁴⁶ Ephebic elements may be more easily discerned in another rite mentioned by Pausanias, that linked to Hermes *Kriophoros* at Tanagra, where the chosen youth carried a lamb/ram around the city on his shoulders.¹¹⁴⁷ That military rites may have been linked to Hermes from a long time before this moment is suggested by a bronze phial probably from Tanagra, which carries an inscription, dated ca.610–550BC which reads ‘The chosen Thebans, led by Phlowax, dedicated this as the sacred property of the Karykeian’ (ἡιαρὸν τοῦ Καρυκερίου Φλόφαρος ἀπάρχοντος λεοτοῖς Θεβαίοις ἀνέθεαν).¹¹⁴⁸ Karykeian is clearly an epithet linked to Pausanias’ Tanagran Mt. Kerykion, birthplace of Hermes (9.20.3). For Schachter, the presence of this military group of Thebans at Tanagra

¹¹⁴³ Full list of Hermes-related sites: 9.10.2; 9.17.2; 9.20.3; 9.22.1-3; 9.24.5; 9.34.2; 9.39.7.

¹¹⁴⁴ Schachter, 2016, 139-140. Schachter suggests that tripods were never part of the rite and that a confusion has occurred between the dedication of Amphitryon (5.59) of another tripod after a victory over Teleboia, perhaps the dedication itself having been changed upon the revival of the Daphnephoria – Schachter, 2016, 271 – although this still reveals the importance of linking Herakles to the rite.

¹¹⁴⁵ Schachter, 2016, 268 and n.33.

¹¹⁴⁶ Schachter, 2016, 271.

¹¹⁴⁷ 9.22.1-3.

¹¹⁴⁸ Schachter, 2016, 203; the translation is his, the text from Jeffery, 1990, 94.7.

implies not only that the two *poleis* were on friendly terms during the first half of the sixth century BC, but that the Thebans' visit to Tanagra may have been concerned either with part of their military training, or participation in a competition.¹¹⁴⁹ Again, the connection to Hermes suggests an ephebic link.¹¹⁵⁰

During the third century AD Tanagra was again the location for a number of ephebic contests linked to Herakles and Hermes, as is demonstrated by three related inscriptions. The first, a marble pedimental stele found in 2001 and re-used as the cover of a Late Antique grave in Agrileza, near Dilesi - ancient Delion - has been recently studied by Charami.¹¹⁵¹ Two similar *stelai* in the Museum of Chalkis (*IG* XII Suppl. 646; *OMS* II 1275-1281) and in the Museum of Thebes (*IG* VII 2450; *OMS* II 1390-1393) are presumed to be *pierres errantes* from Tanagra.¹¹⁵² The Dilesi stele, inscribed upon the initiative of the gymnasiarch, contains the names of ephebes, probably belonging to two or three age classes (ca. 18-20 years), along with the names of various officials - the priest (l.9), the *agōnothetai* of festivals (ll.14-25), the secretary (l.32), and the commanders of military units such as the *tagmatarchai* (l.11) – each of whom were also ephebes.¹¹⁵³ Such documentation demonstrates something of the changing nature of the *ephēbeia* of the Roman period, where wealthy magistrates and even ephebes themselves from prominent families undertook to 'inscribe their friends and fellow ephebes' as memorials to their own prestige and generosity – part of the wave of 'privatization' of the many institutions which had been publicly funded during the Hellenistic period.¹¹⁵⁴ The designation of offices and celebrations listed in the Dilesi inscription reveals the military, agonistic, and religious character of the *ephēbeia* in Tanagra, something which seems in part to have followed the Athenian model.¹¹⁵⁵

¹¹⁴⁹ Schachter, 2016, 204. Schachter suggests that these men are possible evidence for an elite corps already in existence in the first half of the sixth century BC made up of chosen troops from a number of *poleis*, who trained or competed together much as the local troops of the federal Boiotian army did later in the days of the Hellenistic *koinon*.

¹¹⁵⁰ Schachter also suggests that the events surrounding the stealing of earth from the grave of Theban Amphiion by the youths of Tithorea - Paus. 9.17.4-7 - suggests a friendly rivalry, with an ephebic edge - Schachter, 2016, 143 n.20.

¹¹⁵¹ *SEG* 59.492. See Charami, *ADelt* 56-59 B2 (2001-2004) [2011] 167; *CRAI* (2011) 853-867.

¹¹⁵² Charami, 2011, 853/854.

¹¹⁵³ Charami, 2011, 857-858, 861.

¹¹⁵⁴ Kennell, 2006, xiii-xiv. On this privatisation and the domination of the Athenian *ephēbeia* by the wealthy elite from the first century AD until the time of Hadrian, see Perrin-Saminadayar, 2004, 92-94, and 99.

¹¹⁵⁵ Charami, 2011, 856, 861.

It is the ephebic *agōnes* at Tanagra – eight or nine separate *agōnes* run by thirteen *agōnothetai* – which are of particular interest for this thesis, particularly because of the link of some of their number to rituals described by Pausanias the previous century. The Dilesi stele records *agōnothetai* for the following *agōnes*: περὶ ἀλκῆς (l.14), a competition ‘of strength’ (*alke*) – probably connected with the cult of Herakles;¹¹⁵⁶ Ἑρμαίων (l.19), the Hermaia, a distinct ephebic rite for the deity so closely linked to the *polis* with his birth on nearby Mt. Kerykion;¹¹⁵⁷ προσδρομῶν (l.22) – the *prosdromos* or ‘running forward’, a games which Charami links to Pausanias’ story of the sortie of the Tanagran youths led by Hermes *Promachos* against the Eretrians;¹¹⁵⁸ Ἑκατηφορίων (l.20)- the *Hekatephoros* – an *agōn* of unknown meaning which Charami tentatively links to Apollo, Knoepfler to the ram-carrying Hermes *Kriophoros* of Pausanias, with the associated ephebic rite.¹¹⁵⁹ An *agōn* mentioned further down the inscription ‘the games of the ephebes along with the *panēgyris* of the hunters’ (ἐφήβων ἀγῶνας σύν τε τῇ πανυγίρῃ τῶν Κυνηγεσίων - ll.61-62) may suggest a link with another of the Tanagran features mentioned by Pausanias, namely the tomb of the hunter Orion found nearby the *polis* (9.20.3). Knoepfler has suggested that line 62 of the inscription ought to end ‘and the *agōn* of the Oreioneia’ (καὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Ὀρειονίων), such an *agōn* appearing in the list of ephebic *agōnes* from Chalkis (*IG* XII Suppl. 646), which mentions an *agōnothetēs* of the Oreioneia ([ἀγωναθ]έτης Ὀρειονίων - l.16).¹¹⁶⁰ Again we see a link of the *ephēbeia* and the recording of local tradition.

¹¹⁵⁶ Charami, 2011, 863. A contest named the *peri alkēs* and possibly limited to wrestling and pankration is attested at Athens from the mid-first century AD with possible links to Herakles (*IG* II² 2119 and 2130 name *agōnothetai* of these games) – see Follett, 1976, 57 and 225; Graindor, 1922, 201-6; and comprehensive analysis by Newby, 2005, 195-199. This may represent evidence of borrowing from Athens, but I am reminded of an event at the Theban Herakleia, the ἰσχύος ἔργον ‘labour of strength’ of Pindar *Isthmian* 4.69 (470BC), won by Melissos whose speciality may have been the pankration. Diodorus gives Alkaios as the original name of Herakles (4.10.1). The incomplete *IG* VII 2450 from Thebes mentions the *peri alkēs* (περὶ ἀλκῆς - l.5), and the *agōnothetai* of the *Skutale* ([ἀγ]ωνοθετῶ[ν] σκυτάλης - l.9) – this presumably is some ‘despatch’ from the *agōnothetai*, but perhaps we could read the word as the name of an *agon*, linked to the alternate meaning of *skutale* as a club, and hence with a link to Herakles?

¹¹⁵⁷ Charami, 2011, 863.

¹¹⁵⁸ Fight with Eretrians – Paus. 9.22.2; see Charami, 2011, 863.

¹¹⁵⁹ Charami, 2011, 864-865; Knoepfler, 2011, 871; see also Paus. 9.22.3. Other *agōnes* named, but which do not suggest a link with Hermes and Herakles, are those celebrating the birthday of the emperor – γενεθλίου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (l.17); the *dixestos* - διξέστου I (l.23) – a games whose meaning is unclear although Charami, 2011, 863-864 suggests a link either with ξυστός (spear), or ξέστης (a measure of about a pint, although what role such a ‘double-pint’ may have played is unclear) – and the Boarsion - βοαρσίου (l.24) – a games linked to the ritual carriage of the sacrificial animal, upon the shoulders of men, and attested also at Rhodes – Charami, 2011, 864.

¹¹⁶⁰ Knoepfler, 2011, 870.

In addition to these *agōnes*, the inscription from Chalkis records a number of additional games not attested on the Dilesi *stele*, something which Charami interprets as evidence of at least some of these games not being annual.¹¹⁶¹ These include the Hermaia and Oreioneia already alluded to above (ll.15 and 16), along with an *agōnothetai* of an un-restorable El[...] - [ἀγωνοθέ]ται Ἐλ[. . . (l.26), alongside [ἀγωνο]θέτης εἰς Αὐλίδα(l.14) and [ἀγωνοθέ]ται εἰς Μ[υ]κέλασσον (l.19) – the *agōnothetēs* of the contest to Aulis and *agōnothetai* to Mykalessos. How exactly to read these games is unclear. Robert and Schachter have suggested Demeter and Hermes respectively as the beneficiary deities for the Mykalessos *agōn*.¹¹⁶² Given Hermes' strong ephebic link at Tanagra, he ought to be the favourite, while the mention of Herakles' role in opening and closing the sanctuary of Demeter each day by Pausanias (9.19.5) suggests an ephebic role there; Artemis would presumably be the beneficiary of the rite to Aulis. We hear from Pausanias that the land around Aulis and Mykalessos was in the territory of Tanagra (9.19.7), so we might assume that these were local ephebic rites now under the aegis of Tanagra.

Finally, the inscription found at Dilesi also mentions an *agōnothetēs* 'of the Delia' (Δηλίων - l.15).¹¹⁶³ It is difficult to say whether this is the same *agōn* celebrated from the fourth century BC and which had celebrated the victory of the Boiotians against the Athenians at Delion during the Peloponnesian War (424BC).¹¹⁶⁴ The fact that this particular *agōn* required three *agōnothetai* for its organization suggests to Charami that this was an important contest, and that even at this late stage it had retained, in all probability, a pan-Boiotian dimension and a strong international renown.¹¹⁶⁵ Even if viewed as merely ephebic, the role played by the *ephēbeia* in the memorialization of Boiotia's military past is clearly displayed.

7.7.2 Conclusion

The end of the ephebate as a vital urban institution probably occurred during the fourth century AD, when despite the greater need from external threats to the empire, changing ideas about the role of the city at the beginning of the Christian Roman Empire - combined with

¹¹⁶¹ Charami, 2011, 861.

¹¹⁶² Schachter, 1986, 41; Robert *OMS* III 1969, 1393.

¹¹⁶³ Pausanias describes Delion as lying in the territory of Tanagra - 9.20.1.

¹¹⁶⁴ For the Delia see especially 2.7 and 4.4.3 above.

¹¹⁶⁵ Charami, 2011, 862.

increasingly centralized administration, especially in the area of local defence - led to the abandonment of these systems of physical, military, and ethical training of young citizens which had served Greek society well for over seven hundred years.¹¹⁶⁶

In Boiotia, the prominent position given by Pausanias' local guides to the traces of Herakles and Hermes in the Boiotian landscape reveals the role of the *ephēbeia* in the preservation of local traditions. As birthplace of Herakles, the Theban interest in the hero-god is hardly surprising, but Heraklean topography dominates rural Boiotia as well as Thebes and speaks of a wider importance to the Boiotians as a whole. With the apparent disappearance of the Pamboiotia and Basileia during the second century AD, and with the disappearance of the *koinon* itself arguably in mid-third century AD, the importance of the *ephēbeia* as both a carrier of Boiotian identity and local tradition ought not to be underestimated. Pausanias' description of Boiotia is testament to the growing importance of the local and wider Hellenic at the expense of the mid-range communal-Boiotian, and of the shift in emphasis of the wealthy elites towards the *polis* and away from the *koinon*. Whether the importance of the local *ephēbeia* increased as the Pamboiotia and Basileia fell away is difficult to gauge. The epigraphic evidence for ephebic practices seems consistent from the third century BC onwards, and only the evidence from the third century AD linked to the games at Tanagra gives the impression of a spike in ephebic *agōnes* at this time. Tanagra had of course flourished under Rome, and I would suspect that the sheer number of third-century AD ephebic games represents *something* of an efflorescence at that particular *polis*, even if it ought not to be imagined as characteristic across the board.

Despite the incompleteness of the epigraphic record, the celebration of the *ephēbeia* presents a picture of a militaristic Boiotian identity expressed at the minutely local level, something which the focus of this thesis on the internationally renowned Boiotian *agōnes* has tended to eclipse before now. If the Athenian pattern is applicable here, the change from a *koinon*-run institution to one supported by the local elites only emphasizes the importance which the *ephēbeia* gained as a means of elite self-expression during the first, second, and third centuries AD. The *ephēbeia* thus encapsulated the continued expression of what must have been seen as traditionally aristocratic pursuits, and the expression of a traditional militarism, which otherwise had no outlet. The tenor of this self-expression was Boiotian to the core, but

¹¹⁶⁶ Kennell, 2006, xv.

its colour and form was above all local, reiterating once more the importance of the local in the complex of Boiotian identity.

Conclusion

I began this thesis with Pindar and his *epinikian* ode for Diagoras of Rhodes, whose victory at the ‘duly ordered Boiotian games’ (*Olympian* 7.84-85) suggested both its title and its central argument: that festivals and *agōnes* could be the *locus* of expressions of collective identity, and provide a window *onto* that identity. That they could also play a central role in the *development* of collective identity had already been argued for another hymn of Pindar’s, his second *Partheneion* (fr.94b), the so-called *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles of Thebes* which accompanied the Theban ritual of the Daphnephoria.¹¹⁶⁷ Here the family of Aioladas were lauded by their neighbours (*amphiktiones*) for their ‘celebrated victories with swift-footed horses on the shores of famous Onchestos, and beside the glorious temple of Athena Itonia’ (fr.94b 44-46), evidence of a network of cultic association pre-dating (and underlying) the formation of the political Boiotian *koinon*.¹¹⁶⁸ At its most basic, this thesis proposed that considered *in toto* and viewed diachronically, the Boiotian festivals and *agōnes* present a nuanced and complex picture of the ‘uneasy amalgam’ of Boiotian identity as it changed and developed across a millennium.

This study provides a complete chronological record of the evidence for Boiotian *agōnes* from the eighth century BC through to the end of the third century AD, alongside that of the most important collective Boiotian festivals.¹¹⁶⁹ As outlined in my Introduction, my aim was to understand the role played by these festivals in the creation, development, and promotion of a unified Boiotian identity, and to contribute to the wider debates on identity and Boiotian ethnogenesis. I highlighted three important roles played by the festivals and *agōnes* in the matter of Boiotian identity, and which followed a clear chronological pattern. The first was the development of a unified Boiotian identity (Boiotian ethnogenesis proper) through cult interactions at local - often liminal - sanctuaries during the Geometric, Archaic, and early Classical periods.¹¹⁷⁰ The second was the promotion through *agōnes* of Boiotian identity to the

¹¹⁶⁷ *POxy* 4.659 (1904). See especially Kurke, 2007, 90; Mackil, 2013, 162; Kowalzig, 2007, 385.

¹¹⁶⁸ Kurke, 2007, 91.

¹¹⁶⁹ No chronological study on Boiotian *agones* exists. Manieri (2009) looks at only musical festivals and offers no diachronic analysis.

¹¹⁷⁰ Kurke, 2007, 91. Shared ritual actions were an essential part of the process by which people from different communities (whether poleis, villages, or non-nucleated population groups) came to associate with one another

wider-Hellenic world especially during the later Classical, Hellenistic, and early-Roman periods, the cults and events celebrated through each *agōn* being a reflection of what the Boiotians themselves believed central to their own identity. The third was the role played by the games and festivals in maintaining a Boiotian community following the coming of Rome and the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* after 171BC, for as Müller has argued, it was through participation in pan-Boiotian agonistic festivals that the Boiotian *ethnos* was able to affirm its common identity in the absence of a formal constitutional framework, and which eventually allowed a quasi-political Boiotian *koinon* to regenerate just before the imperial era.¹¹⁷¹

My choice of *agōnes* (in particular) as a medium for the expression of identity was dictated by a number of interconnected factors best summarized as visibility, agency, and complexity. In terms of visibility, the games provided an unparalleled and consistent wealth of predominately epigraphic evidence from the sixth century BC down to the end of the third century AD, covering the entire period of the existence of the historical Boiotian *koinon* and arguably that of its development, something which no other medium could boast.¹¹⁷² Records of the games are found in epigraphic sources as varied as victor lists, *polis* and Amphiktyonic decrees, dedications of individual competitors and their families, and *apologias* of *agōnothetai* which often provide records of the games' expenses, organization, and winners. Equally, information on the *agōnes* is often provided in literature, such as the *epinikia* of Pindar, or later accounts such as those of Plutarch and Pausanias. Such visibility allows for what is perhaps the most important factor in positing a link between *agōnes* and identity, this being agency.¹¹⁷³ Epigraphic records by their very nature often provide evidence of the actions of named individuals, members of the wealthy elite for example, or that of the individual *poleis* or the Boiotian *koinon* itself and their roles in the promotion of local and regional *agōnes* in the wider Greek world. And finally, regarding complexity, Boiotian festivals, and especially *agōnes*, provided a platform for the expression of prestige, ambition, and identity at a number of levels simultaneously, such as that of the individual competitor or festival organizer (*agōnothetēs*),

in the first place, to articulate a sense of a common past, and to conceive of a shared and meaningfully unified territory – Mackil, 2013, 157. See also Ganter, 2013, 102.

¹¹⁷¹ Müller, 2014, 122 and 136.

¹¹⁷² With the *caveat*, of course, that epigraphic evidence is often incomplete – absence of evidence is not evidence of absence – and that changes in epigraphic habit must be taken into account. I have tried to emphasise change only when the texts themselves specifically mention it.

¹¹⁷³ Identity as understood here necessarily denotes 'self-identity', and therefore presupposes the necessity for an agent, a self-identifying 'I'.

of the *polis* whose cult was promoted, of the region (pan-Boiotian concerns), often at one and the same time. In the Introduction I used as an example the Thespian Mouseia, whose central cult was of local Thespian interest, and yet whose organization during the third century became pan-Boiotian, (expressing a wider Boiotian proprietary interest in this local cult) and whose scope included relations and negotiations with Hellenistic Kings.¹¹⁷⁴ Such games provided a stage for a nexus of complex negotiations at numerous levels, and were capable of displaying identity at these various levels as well.

The intricacy of the relations expressed through the *agōnes* is itself symptomatic of the complexity of the picture of Boiotian identity put forward in this thesis. As I discussed in my Introduction, the most recent studies on Boiotian ethnogenesis, such as those of Kühr (2006), Larson (2007b), and Kowalzig (2007), following as they do in the wake of the works on ethnicity of Smith (1996) and Hall (1997; 2002), and taking as their central focus such cultural common denominators as myths of common descent, epic ancestry, and a common dialect, integral to the creation of a single Boiotian *ethnos*, by their very methodology produce a view of Boiotian identity which is necessarily one sided. In contrast, I argued that Boiotian identity as a totality can only be understood if it acknowledges the federal nature of the Boiotian political system, and the independent nature of the Boiotian *poleis*, something which Pericles' picture of the Boiotians as self-destructive 'holm-oaks' (*Rhetoric* 3.4) aptly accomplished. Inter-*polis* competition, conflict and rivalry was ever a part of the 'uneasy amalgam' of the unified Boiotia, and any study of Boiotian identity must take this tension into account, for while common cults were integral to the matter of Boiotian ethnogenesis, local interests and identities were part of the dynamic ever changing identity of the federal Boiotian *koinon*. It is this dynamic interplay of local and regional identities which the *agōnes* themselves encapsulate, while a diachronic study of the *agōnes* provides an insight into the changing tensions between local and regional identity, especially as expressed through the changing agonistic interests (and ambitions) of the ruling elites.

The self-enclosed geography of Boiotia played a critical role in the development of a singular Boiotian *ethnos*, whose 'communities of interaction' especially at liminal sanctuaries between the *polis* territories or *khōrai* (sanctuaries which were to remain central to the Boiotian *koinon* such as that of Poseidon at Onchestos and Apollo Ptoios near Akraiphia) formed the

¹¹⁷⁴ See especially 3.3.5 above.

nucleus of the later Boiotian *koinon* through a sharing of common cult and tradition, evidence for which I discussed in Chapter One.¹¹⁷⁵ While geographical determinism played a role in the dominant position enjoyed by Thebes, the fertility of Boiotia and the relative prosperity of the individual *poleis* itself contributed to the failure of any single *polis* to gain the complete control which Athens enjoyed in barren Attica. Thus, the eventual federal Boiotia (and the resulting complexity of Boiotian identity), was itself a product of the Boiotian landscape.

The process of aggregative identity formation was crystalized by external pressure from the powers of Thessaly and Athens during the sixth century BC, with a unified Boiotia arguably the project of Thebes.¹¹⁷⁶ At this time the first inscriptions appear from the collective *Boiōtoi*, Theban interest is attested in the Parasopia and the liminal sanctuaries of the Ptoion and Onchestos, and the first common coinage bearing the Boiotian shield is produced.¹¹⁷⁷ That the shield represented the shield of Herakles (at least to the Thebans) may be suggested by the refusal of the Orchomenians to mint coins of this design. At this time Herakles was a symbol of the dominant power of Thebes, and it has been argued that the earliest Boiotian *agōn* for which we possess epigraphic evidence, the Herakleia at Thebes, may have been inaugurated to celebrate the Theban-led ‘Boiotian’ victory over the Thessalians at Keressos, possibly ca.571BC.¹¹⁷⁸ If correct, this would be the first example of the use of an agonistic festival as a promotion of a collective Boiotian identity into the wider Greek world. It would also stand at the head of a number of later *agōnes* whose inauguration celebrated Boiotian (and more specifically Theban) military victories, a sign of the close link between *agōnes* and military prowess in the Boiotian mind.

During the early Classical period, Pindar’s *Daphnephorikon for Agasikles of Thebes* (fr.94b) reveals the Boiotian *agōnes* as a *locus* of elite ambition and prestige, revealing what Kowalzig has called ‘Project Boiotia’ as central to the self-identity of the aristocrats of Thebes at the very least.¹¹⁷⁹ Pindar’s ‘Boiotian Games’ unfortunately cannot be identified, but as I revealed in Chapter Two, each of the games for which Pindar provides evidence contributed

¹¹⁷⁵ Role of liminal sanctuaries – see Beck and Funke, 2015, 25.

¹¹⁷⁶ See Larson, 2007b, 189 on the creation of a ‘loose *ethnos*’; c.f. Beck, 2014, 41. On Aggregate identity – see Hall, 1997, 47–50. On the importance of the out-group in the creation of group identity, see Hall, 1997, 47; Goldhill, 2010, 49.

¹¹⁷⁷ Mackil, 2013, 23.

¹¹⁷⁸ Janko, 1986, 48 and n.62; Mackil, 2013, 24. Promotion into wider world would be suggested by foreign competitors – see for example *IG VI 801* from Troizen.

¹¹⁷⁹ ‘Project Boiotia’ - Kowalzig, 2007, 355.

something to the development of the eventual Boiotian *ethnos*, and were central to the forging of a unified Boiotian identity. Ganter has suggested that it is only through a diachronic study of the individual communal Boiotian festivals and games that a full understanding of the complex process of Boiotian ethnogenesis can be understood.¹¹⁸⁰ The Theban rite of the Daphnephoria, whose praise of the family of Aioladas on a Boiotian level suggests a pan-Boiotian interest, may itself have played such a unifying role, being associated in *aition* (at the very least in its later history, along with the Itoneion at Koroneia and the rite of the Tripodephoria to Dodona) with the migration tradition, a unifying *ethnos* myth for which our first evidence comes from Herodotus and Thucydides.¹¹⁸¹ The presence of these migratory *aitia* in rites whose existence can be traced back potentially as far as the eighth century BC (the Pyri *pithos* for example may represent a daphnephoric rite at Thebes as early as ca.720BC) represents an early example of the ‘re-invention of tradition’ so important to many scholars’ understanding of later periods such as that associated with the ‘Second Sophistic’.¹¹⁸² Yet we know that by the fifth century BC the elite of Thebes had already added a pan-Boiotian element to what was probably an originally local rite, and here we witness the first example of that complex of elite prestige-ambition-identity expressed through ritual that this thesis presents as a continuous pattern throughout Boiotian ritual history. Thus, the creation of new *agōnes* associated with ancient cult can itself be seen as evidence of ‘re-invention’, as can every subsequent re-creation of these games, every change in their programme, periodicity, and status. It is the strength of this thesis that its broad diachronic canvas displays a picture of the *agōnes* as a constant *locus* of re-invention, of elite prestige and ambition expressed through the constant adaption of ancient traditions to suit present needs. Viewed in such a light, the archaisms and re-inventions of the ‘Second Sophistic’ appear as part of a constant and active traditional pattern of adaptation, allowing a more positive assessment of Boiotia and Boiotian identity under Rome.

With the creation of the federal political *koinon* ca.446BC, alongside the evidence of a unifying myth of a common descent, many of the strands of identity which make up the ‘argument from unity’ were now in place. Yet the story of the development and promotion of

¹¹⁸⁰ Ganter, 2013, 101-102.

¹¹⁸¹ Daphnephoria – Pindar *Partheneia* (fr. 94a-c); Tripodephoria – Pindar fr.59; Proclus ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 239.321b32–322a; Ephorus 70 *FGrH* 119 = Strabo 9.2.4; migration tradition – see Herod. 5.57.2, 61.2; 7.176.4; Thuc. 1.12.3.

¹¹⁸² Pyri *pithos* - Langdon, 2001, 592ff. For bibliography on ‘Second Sophistic’ see Introduction and Chapter Six.

Boiotian identity was only just beginning. During the later Classical period several new festivals and associated *agōnes* are attested, each directly associated with a Boiotian victory (at least in *aition*) at a time of Theban domination. The centrality of the military in Boiotian identity is exemplified through this early agonistic history. Although firm epigraphic evidence for the festival is not attested until the second century, the *aition* of the Delia near Tanagra was linked to the victory of the Thebans at Delion over the Athenians in 424BC.¹¹⁸³ Equally, we hear from Diodorus that the Basileia at Lebadeia was set up by Epaminondas following the Boiotian League's victory over Sparta at the Battle of Leuktra 371BC.¹¹⁸⁴ These festivals not only commemorated Boiotian victories and unity, but played an important role in advertising Boiotian solidity, solidarity, and military prowess to a wider Greek audience. These early Boiotian games, along with the Herakleia at Thebes, had a typically traditional Boiotian programme, with athletic and hippic events. Equally, the games at Oropos, the Amphiaraia, which the Boiotians (again under Theban leadership) may have instigated ca.411BC following their seizure of the sanctuary from the Athenians, reveal the same traditional events, including the *apobasis* – the descent from a racing chariot – with a wider programme of thymelic events seemingly introduced only when Oropos fell once again under Athenian control.¹¹⁸⁵ Through the placement of these festivals at sites of continuous dispute (such as Delion and Oropos), the Boiotians visibly laid claim to them; while the presence at Oropos and Lebadeia of oracles which drew clientele from the wider Greek guaranteed a large non-Boiotian audience, and hence a promotion of Boiotian strength and military identity into the wider world.

During the Hellenistic period, a change occurs in the expression of the Boiotian *agōnes*, which I argued in Chapter Three demonstrates a change in Boiotian self-perception and identity. Politically and militarily the Hellenistic Boiotian *koinon* was a shadow of its Classical self which during the second quarter of the fourth century BC had dominated Greece under the *strategoi* Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and had defeated Sparta at Leuktra (371BC) and Mantinea (362BC). It is as if, in the absence of the political self-determinism of the previous century, the Boiotian *agōnes* of the third century became the prime *locus* of expression of Boiotian identity, an expression which was to become even more vital under Rome when the

¹¹⁸³ Diod. Sic. 12.70. See also Brelaz, 2007, 284-286. For Theban Delion, see for example Hdt. 6.118. For other source on Delion and the Delia see Didymos, in Schol. Pindar, *Olympian* 7.154a; Paus. 9.20.1; 10.28.6; Livy 31.45.6-8; 35.51.

¹¹⁸⁴ Diod. Sic. 15.53; see also SEG 45.434.

¹¹⁸⁵ First evidence is an apobatic relief (SEG 1.131) of ca.400BC. Chronology – see Rhodes and Osborne, 2007, 131.

political and military freedom of the Boiotians was wholly extinguished. Politically, Boiotia weathered the vicissitudes of the Hellenistic period by negotiating between the major players of Aitolia, Macedon, and Rome, but this was a reactionary stance, something which must have baulked the Boiotians' previously strong and self-determined military *ethos*. This period ushered in an era of increased agonistic expression across the Hellenistic world, especially in the Greek East.¹¹⁸⁶ The Greek mainland was for the most part unaffected, but Boiotia stands out as an exception. Rather than a follower of this general agonistic upturn, Boiotia appears to have followed its own unique agenda with a series of actions quite unlike those found anywhere else in the Hellenistic world.

Around 260BC, the Boiotians requested and were granted *asylia* for the sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Koroneia where the militaristic (Boiotia-only) team games of the Pamboiotia were held, this being the earliest such example of the granting of *asylia* in the Greek world.¹¹⁸⁷ The background of this request is not known, but the seeking of an honour found up to that time only in the games of the *periodos* reveals a certain confidence or bravado on the part of the Boiotians, as well as the importance with which they held their central sanctuary and its *agōn*, the Pamboiotia.¹¹⁸⁸ By the end of the third century other Boiotia *poleis* had sought *asylia* and Panhellenic recognition for their own sanctuaries and *agōnes*. During the decade of the 220s, Boiotia underwent what might be described as an agonistic boom, developing – under the influence of a branch of the *Technitai* of Dionysus now housed in Thebes – a new artistic reputation, with games which attracted the interest (and money) of Hellenistic Kings.¹¹⁸⁹ We hear now for the first time of the Mouseia at Thespiiai, and of the Ptoia at Akraiphia, new *agōnes* attached to prestigious local cults which already possessed pan-Boiotian importance, and whose continuing significance is attested in the pan-Boiotian organization of the games, evidence that these individual local cults were becoming a recognisable and central part of a more inclusive Boiotian identity (the 'argument from diversity'). In a very real sense, these changes represent the development of a previously insular and belligerent Boiotian identity, whose traditional inter-*polis* rivalries were now sublimated through the *agōnes*, resulting in something of an arms race as each *polis* competed for status for its own festival or *agōn*. Such

¹¹⁸⁶ Agonistic upturn, see Azerini, 2009, 223, and Parker, 2004, 9-23 esp.19-20.

¹¹⁸⁷ *FD* III 4.358; *SEG* 18.240. Aside from the *periodos*.

¹¹⁸⁸ Rigsby emphasizes the Hellenistic claims for *asylia* as related not to legal claims or the threat of war, but simply to the granting of honour – Rigsby, 1996, 19, 22, 27.

¹¹⁸⁹ On *Technitai* see Le Guen (2001); Aneziri, 2009, 226.

internal competition may have been responsible for two further agonistic booms within Boiotia, the first a century later at the end of the second century BC, and the second following the First Mithridatic War ca.86BC. This new agonistic self-confidence seems to express a wider, more artistic and well-rounded picture of Boiotian identity closer to the ideal Hellenistic model.

With the coming of Rome, the loss of political and military self-determination became absolute with the dissolution of the Boiotian *koinon* after 171BC.¹¹⁹⁰ Again, the celebration of common festivals and *agōnes* allowed for the continued expression of a unified Boiotian identity, whose organization made possible the *koinon*'s eventual quasi-political revival at the end of the first century BC.¹¹⁹¹ It is during the second century that we first see evidence of the strong relations fostered between the elites of certain Boiotian *poleis* and Rome, with games such as the Soteria initiated at Akraiphia (associated with the clemency shown towards the *polis* by Publius Cornelius Lentulus) and the Romaia at Thebes.¹¹⁹² The importance of these Roman links become even more evident following the Mithridatic war, where the positive actions of Sulla towards a number of Boiotian *poleis* and their *agōnes* (such as the Amphiaraia at Oropos and the Erotideia at Thespiiai) instigated a post-war agonistic boom, unique in the Greek world at this time. The Roman Civil Wars, played out in part on Greek soil, led to a collapse of this circuit, but the latter half of the first century BC also ushered in a return of the Boiotian *koinon* (in a religious if not political role) itself arising from the dense nexus of interaction of the wealthy elite of the Boiotian *poleis* (such as the families of Aischriondas and Theomnestos at Akraiphia, and Kapon at Thisbe) at the Boiotian *agōnes* such as the Ptoia, Basileia, and Pamboiotia, evidence of which re-emerges following the Mithridatic War.¹¹⁹³

There is something confident in this re-emergence, as there is in the increasingly strong relations between Boiotia and Rome. In AD 37 Epameinondas of Akraiphia, an ambassador to Rome on behalf of the Boiotian League, reformed the *agōn* of the Ptoia, and in AD 67 set up a stele recording Nero's declaration of the freedom to the Greeks, in his hometown.¹¹⁹⁴ Usually imagined as standing at the start of the 'archaism' and 're-invention of tradition' of the 'Second Sophistic', I would place Epameinondas' recreation of the Ptoia as a relatively late example of the continued re-invention which this thesis has evidenced from the beginning of the Classical

¹¹⁹⁰ Dissolution of *koinon* see Polybius 27.2.7; Livy 42.44.6.

¹¹⁹¹ Müller, 2014, 130-136.

¹¹⁹² *IThesp* 34.

¹¹⁹³ Müller, 2014, *passim*, summarized at 136.

¹¹⁹⁴ *IG* VII 2711-2713.

period, and which I have linked to the expression of prestige, pride, and ambition. Equally, the relations of the Boiotian *agōnes* with Rome, epitomised in the almost universal adoption of imperial epithets for games (such as the Megala Ptoia Kaisareia, the Mouseia Sebasteia Julia, Erotideia Kaisareia, and the Amphiaraia Romaia), and the creation of new (possibly ephebic) *agōnes* linked to imperial cult (the Kaisareia at Lebadeia, Sebasteia at Akraiphia) can best be understood as evidence of a new Boiotian identity under Rome, another ‘uneasy amalgam’, this time of the local and imperial. From the second century AD, the survival of only the most prestigious *agōnes* with close links to individual *poleis*, alongside evidence for an increasing role for the local traditions of the *ephēbeia*, and the disappearance from the epigraphic record of those games most closely linked to the militaristic Boiotian *koinon* – the Basileia at Lebadeia and the Pamboiotia at Koroneia - suggests that Boiotia *per se* was no longer the central *locus* of elite prestige and ambition, lacking as it did any real political reality, and that this ambition had become more localized even while its gaze was set on Rome. This latter was no contradiction. Hadrian’s Panhellenion, with its membership by individual city, characterised the prestige inherent in the local; it was through the local that relations might now best be forged with Rome.

The diachronic method of this thesis, with its focus on the expression of identity through festivals and agonistic games, provides a unique contribution to the ongoing studies of Boiotian and wider Greek cultural identity. While many expressions and experiences of Boiotian identity existed, this thesis has concentrated on the role played in the development of Boiotian identity by the aristocratic and wealthy elites, whose own ambitions played such an active (and visible) part in the promotion of group identity, especially on an agonistic stage. I have demonstrated how elite ambition was a constant driving force for re-invention of games and festivals, and for the development and promotion of a group identity. The highest reaches of this ambition – the ‘vertical dimension’ which Van Nijf and Williamson have described in the new relation with Rome – ought, I argue, to be understood as a constant of Boiotian agonistic history from the start, and an integral factor in the development of group identity.¹¹⁹⁵ It was the interactions of the elites on a wider Boiotian stage – first at liminal sanctuaries and later at their associated competitions - which played a central role in the development of a unified Boiotian identity. It was their desire to shine on a Hellenistic stage which led to a more cultured and nuanced

¹¹⁹⁵ Vertical dimension as relation with Rome - Van Nijf and Williamson, 2015, 108.

Boiotian agonistic identity. And it was their ambitions towards Rome which actively drove and developed a new wider Boiotian identity during the first few centuries AD, an identity exemplified by Plutarch with his parallel Greek and Roman *Lives*, and reflected in the merging of imperial cult and local tradition in the celebration of the Boiotian festivals and games. Contrary to the picture of boorish, conservative swine, the Boiotians proved themselves capable of almost constant re-invention and creative self-expression, a process for which the *agōnes* provide our best evidence.

Figures¹¹⁹⁶

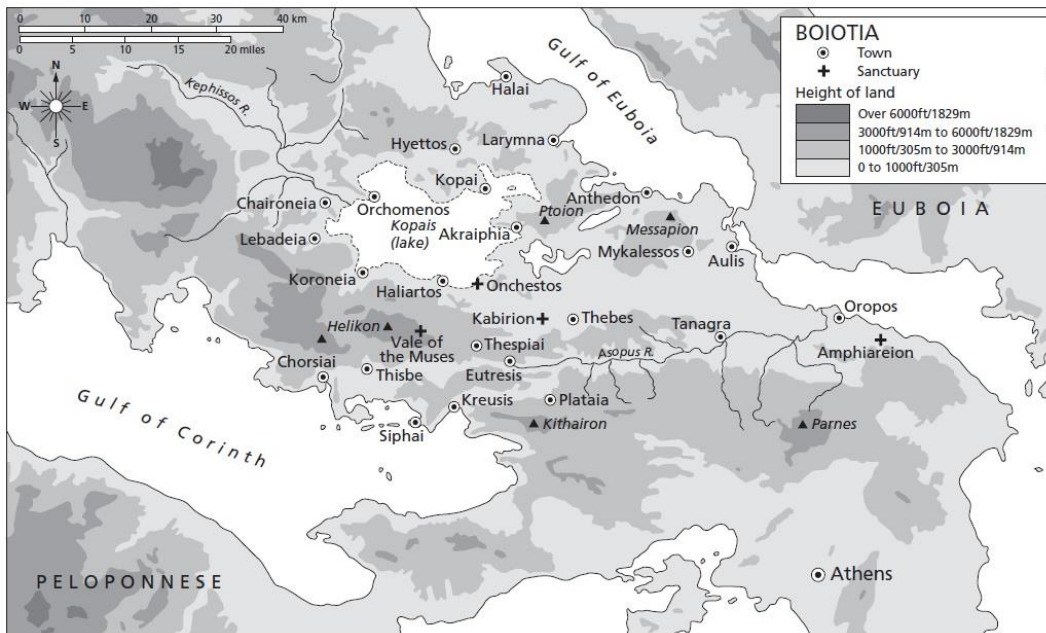


Figure 1 - Map of Boiotia (Schachter, 2016, xxi).

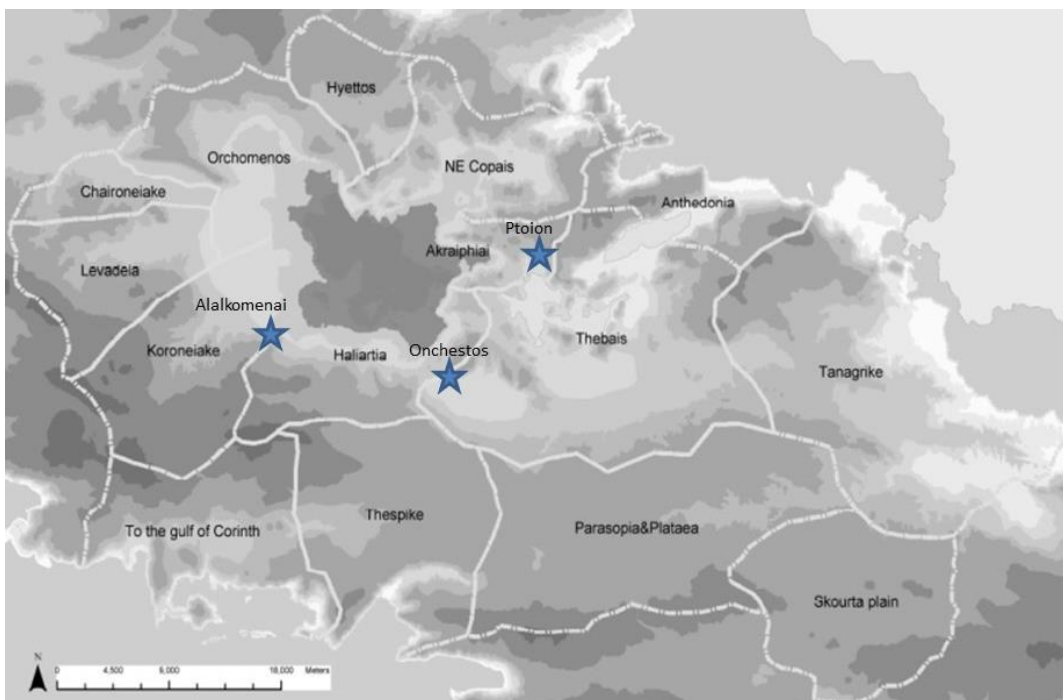


Figure 2 - Ancient *Khōrai* of Boiotia and position of liminal sanctuaries – adapted from Farinetti, 2011, 28.

¹¹⁹⁶ All photos are the authors unless stated.

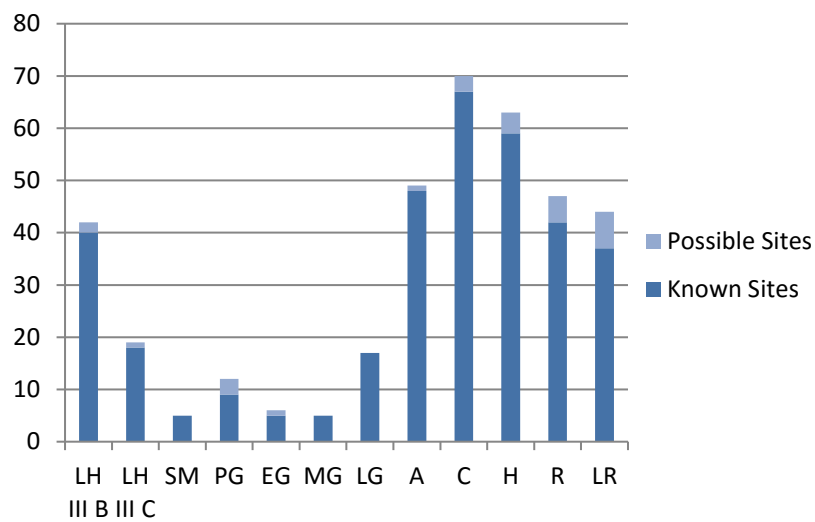


Figure 3 - Settlement changes within Boiotia from Mycenaean period through to the late Roman period (adapted from Fossey, 1988, 409).

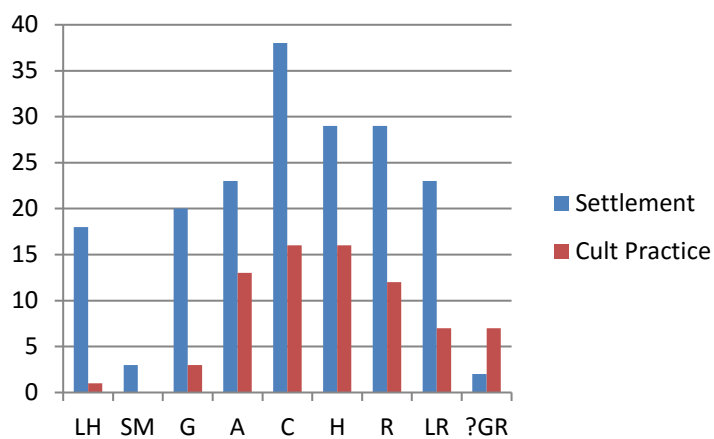


Figure 4 - Graph of settlements and (extra-mural) cult practice in Boiotia (adapted from Farinetti, 2011; GR refers to non-specified Greco-Roman).



Figure 5 - Thebes ca.510 BC. AR Drachm. Boiotian shield / Mill-sail incuse. BMC 1, SNG Copenhagen 241.



Figure 6 - Orchomenos, ca.500-480 BC. AR Hemiobol 7mm, 0.36 gr. Wheat grain (barley corn), sprouting end upward / Wheat ear upward; retrograde R and E at lower left and right. BCD Boeotia 206; BMC 32 var.

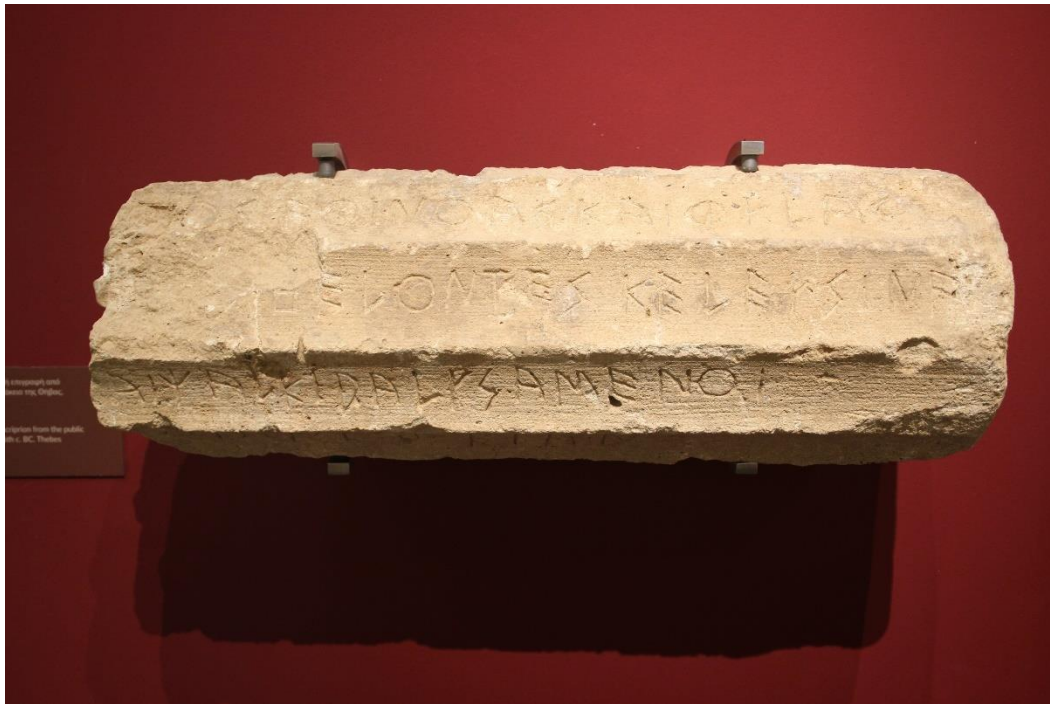


Figure 7 - Kioniskos SEG 54.518 in Thebes Museum.



Figure 8 - Dedication of *Boiōtoi* to hero Ptoios at Katraki, dated to sixth century BC. Perhaps that mentioned as unpublished by Schachter, 1994, 13-14 and n.1.



Figure 9 - View east from acropolis of Koroneia looking across the location of the Itoneion towards Alalkomenai.



Figure 10 - Onchestos, looking east. The modern road still links east and west Boiotia across the low saddle of Onchestos. Archaeological remains are found on both sides of the road.



Figure 11 - The sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios at modern Perdikovrysi, near Akraiphia.

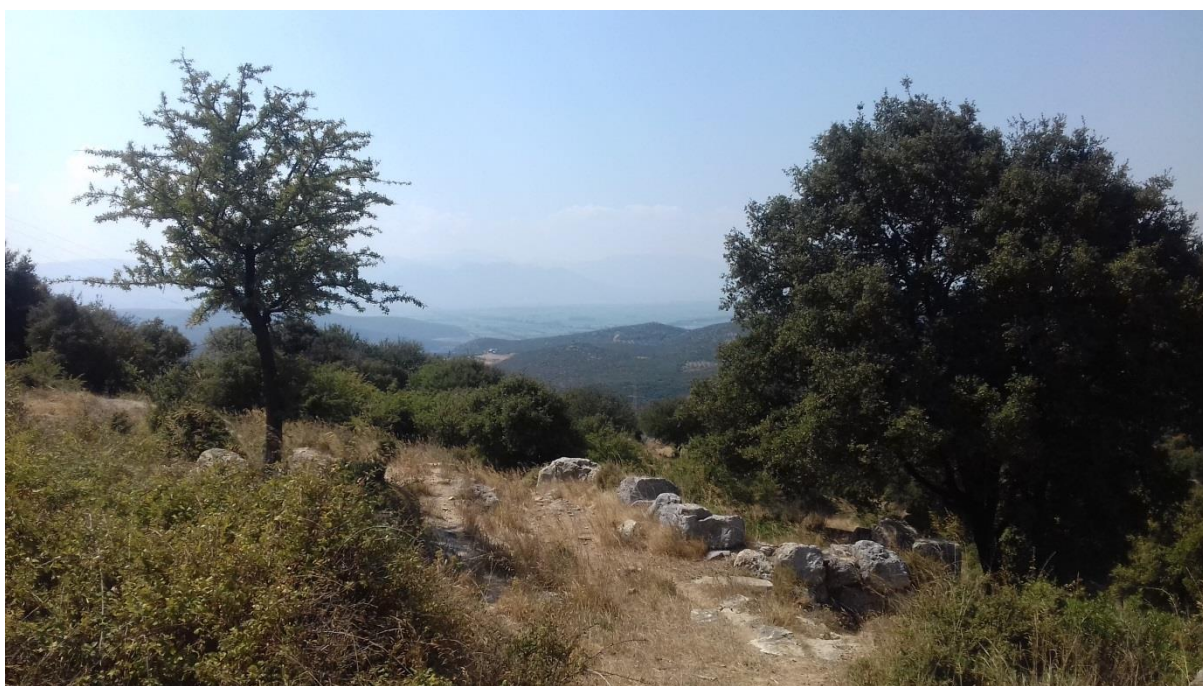


Figure 12 - View from Temple of Apollo Ptoios, past Kastraki, west towards Akraiphia and (drained) Lake Kopaïs.

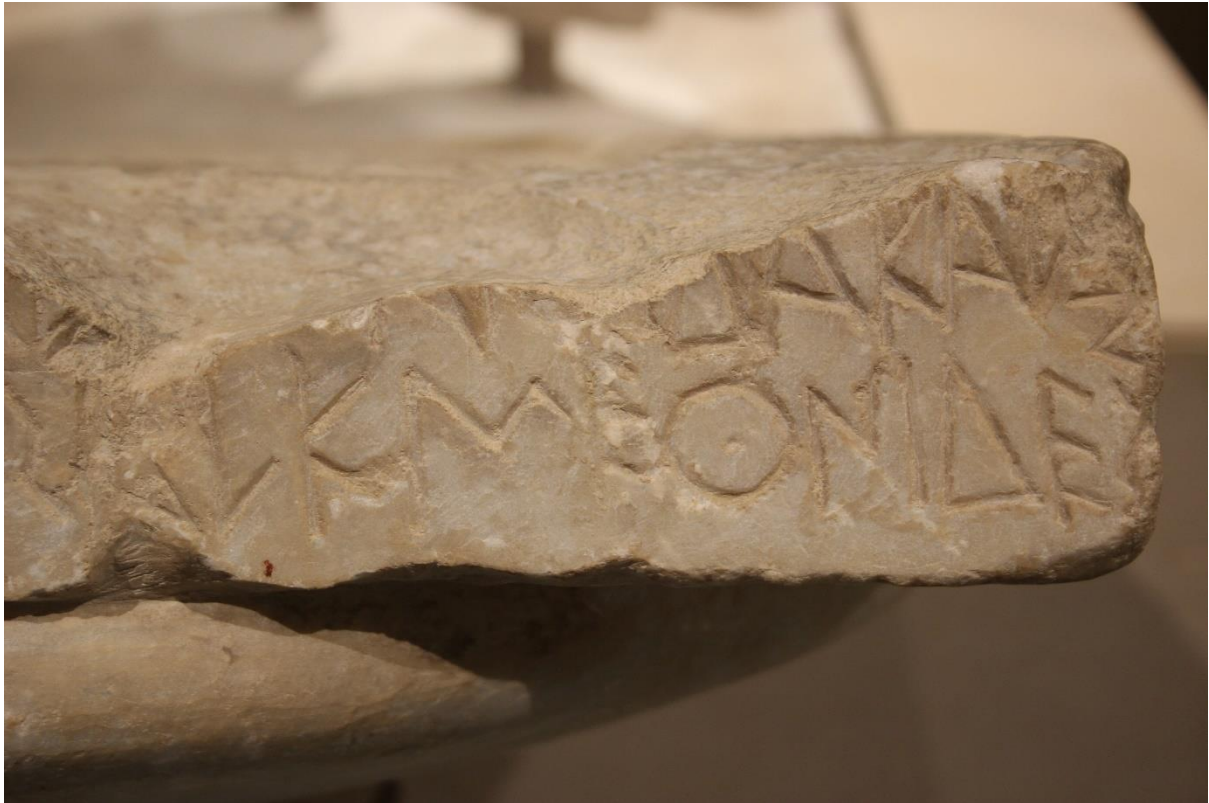


Figure 13 - Dedication of Alkmeonides at the Ptoion (IG I³ 1469).



Figure 14 - Black-figured *lekanē* (bowl), with a sacrificial procession in honour of the goddess Athena (BM 80 - 1879,1004.1) possibly depicting ceremony at Koroneia (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=57609001&objectid=463806)



Figure 15 - Detail of *Lekane* (BM 80) showing Athena in warlike pose, Zeus (?) in chthonic aspect as a snake, and wall with crow possibly representing Koroneia.



Figure 16 - Summit of Ismenian hill with oracular sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios.



Figure 17 - Burial *pithos*, Pyri suburb of Thebes ca.720-700BC and possibly representing the Daphnephoria.



Figure 18 - Valley of Muses looking east towards Keressos and Thespiiai.



Figure 19 - East gate of Plataia and site of altar of Zeus Eleutherios and the contests of the Eleutheria.



Figure 20 - The Unfinished temple of Zeus Basileus above Lebadeia.



Figure 21 - Theatre above the Valley of the Muses, where the Mouseia took place from the third century BC.



Figure 22 - Stele recording Romaia ca. second century BC – *SEG* 54.516.

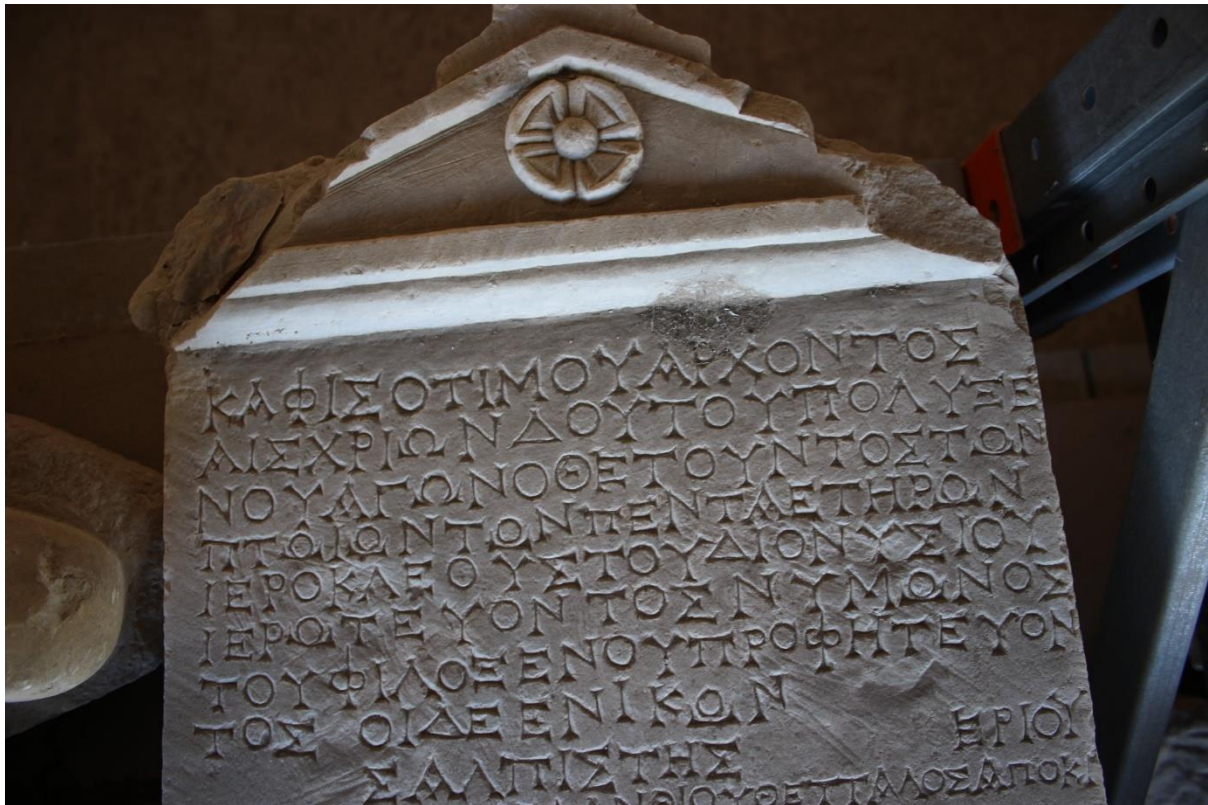


Figure 23 – Stele recording Ptoia of 65BC – upper part (BCH 44 (1920) 249.10).

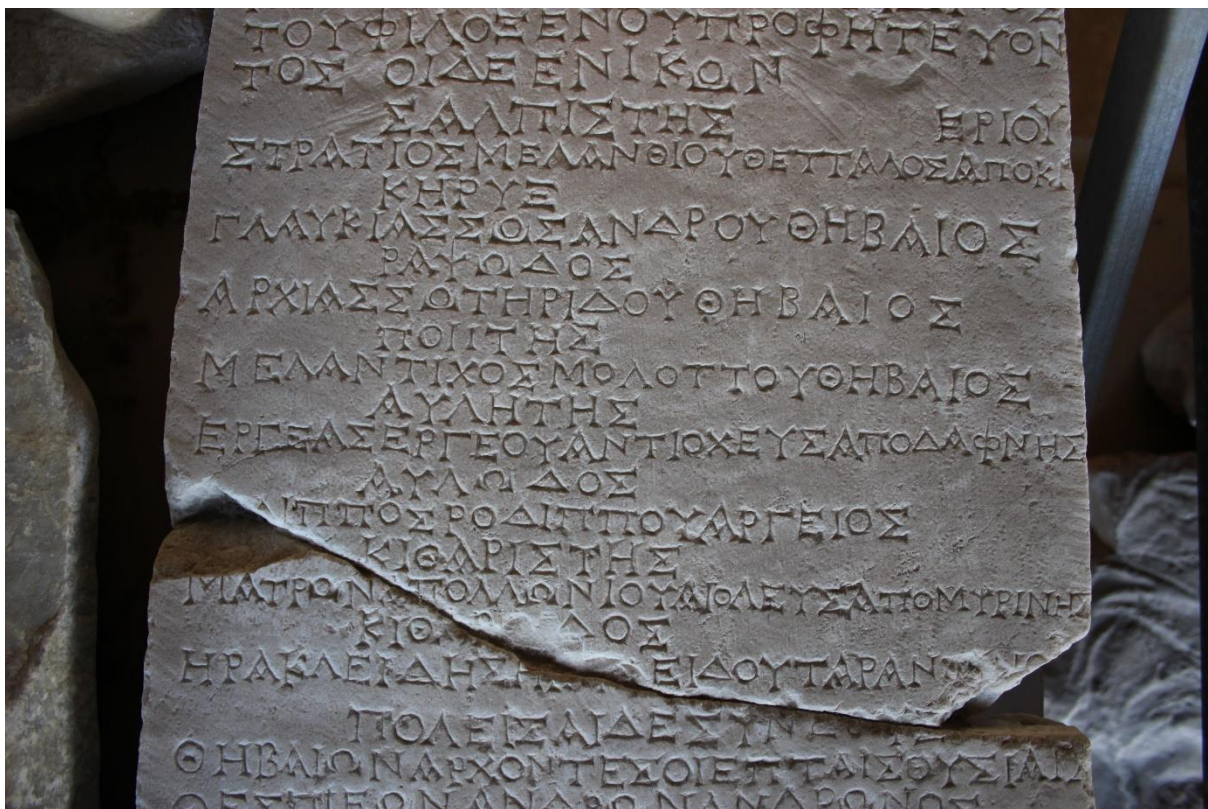


Figure 24 - Stele recording Ptoia – lower part (BCH 44 (1920) 249.10).



Figure 25 - Church of Agios Georgios, Akraiphia. Set into the door and the south wall are the dossier of Epameinondas of Akraiphia regarding his honours and the recreation of the Ptoia festival *IG VII 2711-2713*).

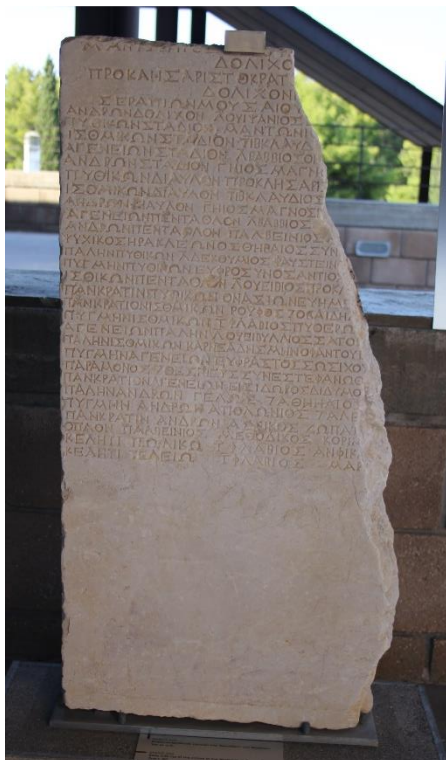


Figure 26 - Thebes museum inv.468 (stand A64) stele recording victories in second century AD Erotideia including evidence of games as thematic. Wrongly dated in museum as second-century BC. See *SEG* 3.335 and *IThesp*192.



Figure 27 - Kithairon from Plataia; route taken by the Daidala.

Tables

This section contains two tables: Table 1 - a collection of all the epigraphic sources linked to *agōnes* in this thesis (including a few literary texts where relevant); Table 2 - a simplified coloured version of Table 1 providing a quick overview of the changing nature of the events held at the games.

Key:

Type of epigraphic source:

Ap. Ag. – Apologia of Agōnothetēs

Hon. Dec. – Honorary Decree

PD – Personal Dedication

VL – Victor List

Event:

A Athletics

Dr Drama

H Hippic

Mil Military

Mu Music

P Proclamation (herald, trumpet, rhapsode)

Po Poetry

U Unspecified

Additional detail is sometimes given, such as **Hop.** for hoplite races, or mention of specialist events like the *Euangelia* or *epinikion*.

Table 1

Location /Agōn	C6BC	C5BC	C4BC	C3BC	C2BC	C1BC	C1AD	C2AD	C3AD
Akraiphia Emperors							<i>IG VII 2712</i> (AD37) l.23 – agōn of emperors		
Akraiphia Ptoia (?)				<i>SEG 25.556</i> (32.456) ca .230-225 BC (Schachter, 2016, 355) – Dec. - Mil					
Akraiphia Ptoia				<i>IG VII 4135</i> (<i>SEG 25.547</i>) ca.228-226 BC Amphik. Dec. <i>asylia</i> of Ptoion and games <i>IG VII 4136</i> – oracle of Trophonios says games to be <i>iaros</i> Acceptance decrees - Towns accept decree - <i>IG VII 351</i> (Oropos); 4143 (Haliartos);: Feyel, CEB 136.11 (Orchomenos); Feyel, CEB 136.11 (Lebadeia)	Re-organization ca.120-110BC (Müller, 2014, 131) accepted by Orchomenos (<i>IG VII</i> 4138), Thisbe (<i>BCH 44</i> [1920] 247.9 and <i>IG VII</i> 4139); others (<i>BCH44</i> [1920] 249.9, <i>IG VII 4140,4141,4142</i> , and possibly 4144 - Thymelic	<i>IG VII 4147</i> (lateC2/early C1BC) VL - P, Po, Mu <i>IG VII 4148</i> – Hon. Dec. Ptoia – C1BC <i>IG VII 4149</i> post- 86BC Ap. Ag. <i>BCH 44</i> (1920) 249.10 – ca.65BC Gossage – Ap. Ag. - P, Po, Mu <i>BCH 44</i> (1920) 261.11 C1BC VL – P <i>BCH 44</i> (1920) 262.12 C1BC – VL – P	<i>IG VII 2712</i> (A37D) re-creation of Megala Ptoia and Kaisareia l.58 <i>IG VII 2713</i> (AD67) Nero declaration of freedom of Greeks	<i>IG VII 4150</i> (late C2AD) <i>IG VII 4151</i> (late C2AD) VL – P, Mu <i>IG VII 4152</i> (late C2AD) VL - Mu	<i>BCH 27</i> (1903) 296 ff. Ptoia Kaisareia VL - P, Po, Mu
Akraiphia Soteria					<i>SEG 15.331</i> Hon. Dec. 171-167BC (Feyel, 1955, 419.1f) or Lentulus – motive for games? <i>SEG 15.332</i> – altar to Zeus Soter Ag. of unnamed games	<i>IG VII 2727</i> ('first after war' ca. 80BC) – VL - P, Po, M, D, A, Epinikion <i>IG VII 2728</i> (post- 86BC) – VL – A, Epinikion			
Koroneia Pamboiotia				<i>SEG 18.240</i> (ca. 266/265BC or 262/261BC) – Amphik. Dec. – <i>asylia</i> for sanctuary		<i>IG VII 2871</i> (last third of C1BC or later - Müller 2014, 128) VL - P, A, H, Θεσπιέων τὸ τέλος [σ]τάδιον ἐκ πάντων	<i>IG VII 2711</i> (AD37) l.56 – ' <i>panēgyris</i> of the Pamboiotia' <i>SEG 38.380</i> – Ap. Ναοριοῖοι (up to		

				IG VII 3087 Mil SEG 3.354 –355 – Mil		IG VII 1764 (ca. 60BC) VL – A, H SEG 28.456 VL - H	AD100 Knoepfler, 1988, 263-294) re. Pamboiotia(?) - Müller, 2014, 128 Plut <i>Am. Nat.</i> 774E-775E says Pamboiotia well-known		
Koroneia Unknown	BM 80 <i>Lekane</i> Schachter, 1981, 122; BCH 99 (1975) 430-434	Pindar <i>fr.</i> 94b l.46-47; <i>Olympian</i> 7.84-85 H. Bacchylides <i>fr.</i> 15							
Lebadeia Basileia			Diod. Sic. 15.53 – Basileia inaugurated after 371BC IG VII 2532 – PD – H IG VII 552 - PD – U	SEG 39.444 (IG VII 1710-12 ca.300BC Roesch, 1989, 213 n.830 – PD – Mu c.f. Schachter, 1994, 136 and 140 where says A) SEG 25.90 – Athens taxiarchs to Basileia ca.281/280BC IG II ² 3779 (mid-C3BC) PD – U(Mu?) IG IV 428 (ca. 240-220BC – Knoepfler, 2008b, 1441) - PD – A IG V 2.142 – PD – A IG VII 530 (Basileia or Eleutheria - Schachter, 1994, 139) PD – P SEG 24.362 – PD -U IG VII 2487 (late C3/earlyC2BC) – PD -U	IG VII 4247 (ca.200BC Knoepfler, 2008b, 1443) PD – (A?) SEG 11.338 ((200-180BC Schachter, 1994, 141 n.1) – PD – A SEG 3.368 – pre-171BC (Knoepfler, 2008b, 1441) – VL - P, Po, A IG XII 1.78 (C2BC Schachter, 1994, 139) PD - U	SEG 14.478 – post-80BC Knoepfler, 2010, 1454 – PD - A IG VII 3078+BCH 25 (1901) 365.19 ca.75BC Gossage – VL - A, H SEG 3.367 (ca.60BC – Gossage, 1975, 116 and 124-125) VL - A, Apobasis, H, Hop AD 26 (1971 [1973]) A.34-40 – PD - A SEG 59-417 (post-86BC Knoepfler, BE (2012) 191) - Hon. Dec. - A	IG II ² 3158 (C1AD - Knoepfler, 2008b, 1456) – PD - P IG IX 2.614a (early imp. period - Knoepfler, 2008b, 1457) PD - A IDel 2552 (C1AD) PD - P		
Lebadeia Kaisareia and [...];							IG VII 3103 (AD 14-23) statue of Tiberius set up by Ag. of the		

							'Kaisareia and ...' Knoepfler, 2008b, 1457-1459 suggests Basileia		
Lebadeia Sebastoi									<i>IG</i> VII 3106 (C2/C3AD) Ag. of Sebastoi
Lebadeia Trophonia/ Trophoneia					<i>IDel</i> 1957 (150-130BC) – PD – A <i>IG</i> VII 47 ca.mid-C2BC – PD - A				<i>FD</i> III 1.550 (<i>SEG</i> 14.421) PD - Mu <i>SEG</i> 14.422 (AD 250) - Trophoneia Olympia PD – U <i>IG</i> VII 49 (post-AD 242 Knoepfler, 2008b, 1449) Trophoneia in Lebadeia PD – U <i>IG</i> II ² 3169-3170 (AD253-257) – PD – P <i>AD</i> 25 (1970 [1971]) 62.11 (C3AD - Knoepfler, 2008, 1459) PD
Onchestos Unknown		Pindar <i>fr.</i> 94b <i>Isthm.</i> 1.33-34; 54- 56 – H							
Orchomenos Charitesia					<i>IG</i> II ² .3160 C2BC or C1BC PD - A	<i>IG</i> VII 3195 (mid- C1BC) Charitesia VL– P, Po, Mu, Dr, epinikia τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμαφυδός <i>IG</i> VII 3196 (post- 86BC both Ch. and Ho.) VL Charitesia – P, Po, Mu, Dr <i>IG</i> VII 3197 (post- 86BC both Ch and			

						Ho) Charitesia – VL - P, Po, Mu, Dr <i>IThesp</i> 164 AE (1917) 166-167, ca. 65-60BC – VL – Po, Mu. Events could fit Mouseia, Agrionia, Charitesia or Amphiaraiia (Gossage, 1975, 115 n.2)			
Orchomenos Homoloia						<i>IG</i> VII 48 (post-86BC Knoepfler, 1997, 35-36) PD – A <i>IG</i> VII 3196 (post-86BC both Ch and Ho) VL Homoloia – Mu, Dr, epinikia <i>IG</i> VII 3197 (post-86BC both Ch and Ho) VL Homoloia – Mu, Dr, epinikia			
Orchomenos Unknown		<i>Schol. Pind. Scholia vetera.</i> Is.1 11c 18 – Minyeia; Pindar <i>Isthm.</i> 1.52-58 - H							
Orchomenos (Agrionia)?				Amandry and Spyropoulos, 1974, 224; te Riele, 1976, 285-291 link dedications to unknown <i>agōn</i>					
Oropos Amphiaraiia		<i>SEG</i> 1.131 – apobatic relief ca.400BC <i>IG</i> VII 235 (O.277) (386-374BC Rhodes and Osborne, 2007, 128)– priestly duties etc. mention ἡ ἑορτή (I.34)	<i>SEG</i> 11.131 – apobatic relief ca.400BC <i>IG</i> VII 235 (O.277) (386-374BC Rhodes and Osborne, 2007, 128)– priestly duties etc. mention ἡ ἑορτή (I.34)	<i>IG</i> II ² 3140 – Amphiaraiia C4/C3PD - U Indirect evidence of dramatic events – Schachter, 1981, 25: <i>SEG</i> 15.265 – Prx. .Dc. Dr; <i>IG</i> VII 275 (O.179) 221-204BC Prx. Dc.Dr; <i>IG</i> VII 298 (O.175) 221-204BC Prx. Dc.Dr.	<i>IG</i> VII 411 (O.307) 154-150BC Amphiaraiia Megala Hon. Dec. - A <i>IG</i> VII 412 (O.294) ca.150BC (Knoepfler, 1997, 35-36) Hon. Dec. Amphiaraiia Megala <i>SEG</i> 11.338 – (200-180BC Schachter, 1994, 141 n.1)	<i>IG</i> VII 48 (post-86BC Knoepfler, 1997, 35-36) Amphiaraiia PD – A O.521 (AE 14.32 post-86BC first Amphiaraiia and Romaia) VL – P, Po, Mu, A, H, <i>Euangelia</i>	<i>SEG</i> 6.727c (SEG 17.628 – C1AD) Amphiaraiia Romaia PD – A		

			<p>IG VII 4253-4254 (338-332BC - O.297) Hon. Dec. A, H</p> <p>IG VII 414 (O.520) – Amphiarraia Megala ca.350-340BC (Schachter, 1981, 24 n.4) ca.320BC (Knoepfler, 2001, 367-389) – VL – Po, Mu, A, H, Hop</p>	<p>SEG 24.352; 355 C4/C3BC (ca.225BC – SEG 31.450) dedications of tripods by <i>choregoi</i> to nymph Halia suggest possible <i>agōn</i> to Schachter (1981, 229 and n.2) but may be from winners of Amphiarraia</p>	<p>Amphiarraia Megala PD - A</p>	<p>O.522 (AE 25/26 26.141 ca. 80-50 BC) VL - AH</p> <p>O.523 (IG VII 416 ca.80-50 BC) VL – P, Po, Mu, A, H, Hop.</p> <p>O.524 (IG VII 418 ca. 80-50 BC) VL – P, Po, Mu, Dr</p> <p>O.525(IG VII 417+415 ca. 80-50 BC) VL – Po, A, H, Hop, Euangelia</p> <p>O.526 (IG VII 419 - ca. 80-50 BC) – VL – P, Po, Mu, A, H, Hop</p> <p>O.527 (AE 25/26, 25.140 ca. 80-50 BC) VL – A, H, Hop</p> <p>O. 528 (IG VII 420 ca.80-50 BC) – VL – P, Po, Mu, A, H, Hop</p> <p>O.529 (SEG 51.585; ca. 80-50 BC) VL – A, H, Hop, Euangelia</p> <p>O.530 (SEG 31.427 ca. 80-50 BC) VL - A</p> <p>O.531 (AE 25/26, 24, 139 ca. 80-50 BC) VL - Dr</p> <p>O.308 (IG VII 413) letter from Rome to Oropians 73BC re. Trophonius and tax</p>			
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						<p>AE [1925/1926] 29.142 (post-86BC) VL – P, Po, Mu, A, H, Hop, Euangelia</p> <p>AE (1917) 166-167, ca. 65-60BC – VL – Po, Mu. Events could fit Mouseia, Agrionia, Charitesia or Amphiarraia (Gossage, 1975, 115 n.2)</p>			
Plataia Eleutheria				<p>Poseidippos (fr.31 K-A) c.a. 280BC (Rigsby, 1996, 51)</p> <p>BCH 99 (1975) 51-75 (ca. 261-246BC) PD – A</p> <p>IG VII 530 (Eleutheria or Basileia (Schachter, 1994, 139) PD – P</p> <p>IG V 1.656-657 – PD – A</p> <p>(?) IG VII 1711 (SEG 39.444 ca.300BC Roesch, 1989, 213 n.83) PD – Mu(?)</p>	<p>SEG 11.338 (200-180BC Schachter, 1994, 141 n.1) PD – A</p> <p>SEG 21.458 Hon. Dec.</p> <p>SEG 22.350 (post 189BC - Schachter, 1994, 140 n.2) PD - A</p> <p>Hesperia 4 (1935) 81.38 – C2BC Schachter, 1994, 140 PD - A</p> <p>(?) IG VII 1711 C2BC (Schachter, 1994, 136 and 140) PD - A</p> <p>IG XII 1.78 (C2BC Schachter, 1994, 139) PD - U</p> <p>SEG 19.570 – Hon. Dec.- A</p> <p>IG IV² 1 629 (C2/1BC) – Hon. Dec. – H</p>	<p>IG VII 1666 (early C1BC) – VL - A</p> <p>SEG 14.728 (post086BC) PD - A</p> <p>Robert Hell.7 [1949] 117-125 – PD - A</p> <p>IMagn 119.149b (C1BC/C1AD) PD - A</p> <p>Syll³ 1066 – PD - A</p>	<p>IG II² 1990 – I.4. Eleutheria(?)</p> <p>IG II² 3158 (C1AD - Knoepfler, 2008b, 1456) – PD – P or Po.</p> <p>IG VII 1667 (C1AD) – VL - P</p> <p>BCH 37 [1913] 240.47 – PD - A</p> <p>SEG 6.727c (SEG 17.628 – C1AD) Amphiarraia Romaia PD – A</p> <p>IG VII 1856 (C1AD) Hon. Dec. PD – A</p> <p>IDel 2552 (C1AD) PD – P</p>	<p>IG IX 1.146 – PD - A</p> <p>P. Lond. 3.214.1178</p> <p>IG II² 3162 – PD - U</p> <p>Istanb.Forsch. 17 [1950] 61.18) PD - A</p> <p>IEph. 2070/2071 and FD III 1.551 (SEG 45-1578 reign Commodus 180-192 AD) PD - pantomime</p> <p>See also IG V 1 305, 553; 554; 555a, 556, 655, SEG 11.802, 803; Istanb. Forsch 17 [1950] 65, 30;– PD – A. ἄριστον Ἑλλήνων for Damokratidas son of Alkandrides and Alkandrides son of Damokratidas</p>	<p>IG VII 49 (post-AD 242 Knoepfler, 2008b, 1449) –PD - U</p> <p>FD III 1.555 (SEG 14.422 ca.AD 250 Knoepfler, 2008b, 1449) PD - U</p>
Tanagra ephebic 'to Aulis'									IG XII Suppl. 646 I.14 Ag. 'to Aulis'

Tanagra Delia			IG II ² 2971 Delia here may be Delos (Schachter, 1981, 47 n.2; c.f. Brelaz et al. 2007, 285, n.138)		IG VI 20 Tanagran decree <i>agōn</i> of Delia – ca.171-146BC SEG 57.452 (last decades of C2BC Brelaz, 2007, 235) – Ap. Ag. – A, Hop				SEG 59.492 I.15 – Ag. of the Delia
Tanagra Ephebic Unknown (El...)									IG XII Suppl. 646 I.17 Ag. of El...
Tanagra ephebic ‘Family of Emperors’									IG XII Suppl. 646 I.17 – Ag. Family of Emperors γεγεθλίου τῶν Σεβ(αστῶν)
Tanagra ephebic <i>Hekatephoros</i>									SEG 59.492 I.20 Ag <i>Hekatephoros</i>
Tanagra Ephebic <i>Hermaia</i>									IG XII Suppl. 646 I.15 Ag. Hermaia SEG 59.492 I.14 Ag. Hermaia
Tanagra Ephebic (?) Kaisareia							IG VII 1857 (C1/C2AD - Strasser BCH 127 (2003) 270-272) (<i>IThesp</i> 210-211) – PD – A (?) Kaisareia in Tanagra		
Tanagra Ephebic ‘to Mykalessos’									IG XII Suppl. 646 I.19 Ag. ‘to Mykalessos’
Tanagra Ephebic <i>Oreineia</i>									IG XII Suppl. 646 I.16 – Ag. Oreineia
Tanagra Ephebic <i>panēgyris</i> of hunters									SEG 59.492 I.61-62 Ag. <i>Panēgyris</i> of hunters
Tanagra Ephebic <i>Peri Alkēs</i>									IG VII 2450 I.5 Ag. <i>Peri Alkēs</i>

									SEG 59.492 I.14 Ag. <i>Peri Alkēs</i>
Tanagra ephebic <i>Prosdromos</i>									SEG 59.492 I.22 Ag. <i>Prosdromos</i>
Tanagra Sarapieia						IG VII 540 [+25.501] – 100-90/85BC – VL P, Po, Mu IG VII 541 (post- 86BC) VL IG VII 542 (post- 86BC) – VL – Po, Mu, <i>epinikion</i> IG VII 543 (post- 86BC) VL – Po, Dr, <i>Epinikion</i>			
Tanagra ephebic <i>Skutale</i>									IG VII 2450 I.9 Ag. Skutale
Thebes Agrionia				IG IV 682 to Dionysus Kadmeios (ca. 265- 255BC - Schachter, 2016, 369) – PD – U (P, Po or M?) FD III 1.351; SEG 31-539 Amphik. Dec. (ca.228- 225BC) – <i>asylia</i> of <i>Technitai</i> and <i>agōn</i> - – Mu, Dr, choral dance	IG II ² 971 (140/139BC) Hon. Dec. <i>archetheoros</i> of Agrionia at Thebes	IG VII 2447 – Ap. Ag. Agrionia AE (1917) 166-167, ca. 65-60BC – VL – Po, Mu. Events could fit Mouseia, Agrionia, Charitesia or Amphiaraia (Gossage, 1975, 115 n.2)	IG VII 2518 (Rom. Imp. Per.) Ap. Ag. – 'Dio...' – early Dionyseia Herakleia (Agrionia)?		
Thebes Iolaiea/ Herakleia	IG VI 801 – third quarter of C6BC - Janko, 1986, 48 and n.62	Bacchylides 10 (9) 30-31 – A Pindar, <i>Isthmian</i> 1 55-56; 3/4.50-84 (62-66); <i>Nem.</i> 4. 19- 22; <i>Olymp.</i> 9.98-99 – A, H	380/379BC – Plut. <i>de Genio Socratis</i> 18 (587D) – Herakleia IG VII 2532-2533 - PD - H. ca.338- 335BC - Schachter, 1986, 28 n.1	Polemon ca.220 to 160 BC), περί των θήβησιν 'Ηρακλείων FHG 3 p. 123F26 – (Schachter, 1986, 28 n.2 evidence of games)	SEG 22.350 (SEG 37.360 post-189BC - Schachter, 1994, 140 n.2) PD - A SEG 11.338 (200- 180BC Schachter, 1994, 141 n.1) – PD - A Roesch, 1975, 4.2 (170-150BC) – VL – P	IG II ² 3154 (C1BC) Herakleia PD - U IG VII 48 (post-86BC Knoepfler, 1997, 35- 36) PD – A	IG II ² 3158 (C1AD - Knoepfler, 2008b, 1456) – PD – P IG VII 1857 (SEG 53- 474(2) (C1/C2AD - Strasser BCH 127 (2003) 270-272) (IThesp 210-211) – PD – A (?)	DAMM, 1966, 101-105 (Post -AD 140) - PD – A IG II ² 3162 Herakleia PD - U IEph. 2070/2071 and FD III.1.551 (SEG 45- 1578 reign Commodus 180-192 AD) Dionyseia Heakleia – PD - pantomime	FD III 1. 550 I.13 PD – Mu Robert, CRAI, 1970, 20-22, I.10-11 (post- AD 220) Dionyseia Herakleia Antoneineia - PD – P IG II ² 3169 ca.AD253- 257 Herakleia - PD – P

					<p><i>IG</i> II² 971 (140/139BC) Hon. Dec. <i>archetheoros</i> of Herakleia</p> <p><i>Hesperia</i> 4 (1935) 81.38 ca.150-130BC – PD – A</p> <p><i>IDel</i> 1957 - ca.150- 130BC – PD – A</p> <p>Heberdey et Wilhelm, <i>Reisen in Kilikien</i>, 81, n.17 (late C2BC/earlyC1BC – Roesch, 1975, 1) – PD - H</p> <p>Roesch, 1975, 3.1 (C2BC/C1BC) – VL - P</p>		<p><i>IDel</i> 2552 (C1AD) PD – P</p> <p><i>IG</i> VII 2518 (Rom. Imp. Per.) Ap. Ag. – ‘Dio...’ – early Dionyseia Herakleia?</p>		<p><i>IG</i> VII 49 (post-AD 242 Knoepfler, 2008b, 1449) Herakleia - PD - U</p> <p><i>FD</i> III 1 555, l.10 (SEG 14.422 ca.AD 250 Knoepfler, 2008b, 1449) Herakleia Olympia PD - U</p>
Thebes Romaia					<p><i>SEG</i> 54.516 ca.120BC – VL - P, Po, Mu</p> <p><i>SEG</i> 54.517 (<i>IG</i> VII 2448 – ca.118-110BC - Knoepfler, 2004, 1262- 1264) - VL – P, Po, Mu.</p>				
Thespiai Dionyseia?							<p><i>IG</i> VII 2518 (Rom. Imp. Per.) Ap. Ag. ‘Dio...’ – see Schachter, 1981, 195</p>		
Thespiai Erotideia						<p><i>IG</i> II² 1054 – (post- 86BC Knoepfler, <i>BE</i> (2010) 725-6) <i>theoroi</i> at Erotideia and Romaia</p> <p><i>SEG</i> 22.385 – (6 BC- AD 2) – VL – H (Tiberius)</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 34 87/86BC - Erotideia</p>	<p><i>IThesp</i> 190 (<i>IG</i> VII 1769 C1AD) – VL – A</p> <p><i>IG</i> VII 2517 Ag. Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia</p> <p><i>IG</i> VII 2518 – Ag. [Dio...] and Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 376 - <i>BCH</i> 26 (1902) 298.18 Ag.</p>	<p>Pausanias 9.31.3 – Erotideia musical and athletic</p> <p><i>IG</i> V 1.655 (SEG 34.313 ca.AD 221) PD - A</p> <p><i>IG</i> V 1.659 Erotideia PD - A</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 191 (<i>IG</i> VII 1772) Roesch says</p>	

						<p><i>IThesp</i> 187 (<i>IG</i> VII 1765 ca.60BC) – VL – A</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 186 (<i>BCH</i> 19 (1895) 369-370 no. 19 and 372-373 no.22) VL – A, H, Hop</p> <p><i>IG</i> VII 48 (post-86BC Knoepfler, 1997, 35-36) PD – A</p>	<p>Erotideia and Kaisareia and Mouseia and Sebasteia Julia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 377 - <i>BCH</i> 26 (1902) 299.19 Ag. Erotideia and Kaisareia and Mouseia and Sebasteia Julia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 358 - <i>BCH</i> 50 (1926) 431.61 Ag. Mouseia Sebasteia and the Erotideia Kaisareia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 405 - <i>BCH</i> 50 (1926) 432. 62 – Ag. Erotideia (and) Kaisareia, and Mouseia twice</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 210-211 – <i>IG</i> VII 1857 (C1/C2AD - Strasser <i>BCH</i> 127 (2003) 270-272) PD – A(?)</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 175 - <i>SEG</i> 29-452 – (<i>BCH</i> 95 (1971) 921) - Erotideia and Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia (or Sebasteia Julia) VL – P, Mu, A</p> <p>Plut. <i>Amat.</i> 749C musical Erotideia?</p>	<p>C2/C3AD A, H – ποιητής χορῶν in middle</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 192 (<i>SEG</i> 3.335 C2AD) – VL – A, H, Hop</p>	
Thespiat Mouseia		Sophocles <i>OT</i> 1105-1109 – Schachter 1981, 156 n.4	Pausanias 9.30.1 – 3 statues by Strongylion C5/C4BC point to growing cult	<p><i>IThesp</i> 204 (<i>IG</i> VII 1818 – ca.C3BC) PD – Mu</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 205 (<i>IG</i> VII 1819 – ca.C3BC) VL – Po</p>	<i>IThesp</i> 165 (<i>BCH</i> 19 (1895) 334.8 170-150BC) VL – Po, Mu	<i>IThesp</i> 172 (<i>IG</i> VII 1760 ca.80-70BC) VL – P, Po, Mu, Dr.	<i>IThesp</i> 175 - <i>SEG</i> 29-452 – (<i>BCH</i> 95 (1971) 921) - Erotideia and Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia (or Sebasteia Julia)	<i>IThesp</i> 178 <i>IG</i> VII 1773) - AD 150-160 Mouseia VL – P, Po, Mu, Dr	<i>IThesp</i> 164 (<i>IG</i> VII 1776 – after AD 212 Megala Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia – Ap. Ag. P, Mu, Mu, Dr

			(Schachter, 1986, 157)	<p><i>IThesp</i> 206 (<i>BCH</i> 50 (1926) 424.45 - Hellenistic) PD – Po</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 207 (<i>IG</i> VII 1820) – U</p> <p><i>IG</i> IV 682 (ca. 265-255BC - Schachter, 2016, 369) PD – U (P, Po or M)?</p> <p>SEG 32-456 (contribution to Mouseia 228-224 BC)</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 152-157 re-organization of the Mouseia ca.230-208BC inc. <i>IThesp</i> 156 (<i>IG</i> VII 1735B) <i>Technitai</i> accept <i>isolympian</i> for Po, Mu.</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 161 (210-203BC) victors of thymelic <i>agōn</i> VL - Po, Mu</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 162 (<i>BCH</i> 98 (1974) 649.2 ca.210-172BC) VL - Mu</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 163 (<i>IG</i> VII 1762 ca.210-172BC) VL – P, Po, Mu, epinikia</p>	<p><i>IThesp</i> 167 (<i>BCH</i> 19 (1895) 335.10, ca. 146-95BC) – VL – P, Po</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 169 (Feyel, <i>CEB</i> 118.11 ca.146-95BC) VL – P, Po, Mu</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 170 (<i>Polemon</i> 3 (1947) 73-79 ca. 118-112BC) VL – P, Po, Mu</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 171 (<i>BCH</i> 19 (1895) 337.12 ca. 110-90BC) VL – P, Po, Mu</p>	<p><i>IThesp</i> 173 (<i>IG</i> VII 1761 - post-87BC) – VL – Po, Dr, epinikia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 164 AE (1917) 166-167, ca. 65-60BC – VL – Po, Mu. Schachter, 1986, 172-173 But events could fit Mouseia, Agrionia, Charitesia or Amphiarara (Gossage, 1975, 115 n.2)</p>	<p>VL – P, Mu, A; possibly joint if not Erotideia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 176 (<i>IG</i> VII 1774 C1AD) Megala Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 174 (<i>BCH</i> 98 (1974) 649.3 ca.AD 20) VL – P, Po, <i>enkōm.</i> to Livia as Mnemosyne, Tauros, Messallinos</p> <p><i>BCH</i> 26 (1902) 305.33 Ag. Mouseia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 376 - <i>BCH</i> 26 (1902) 298.18 Ag. Erotideia Kaisareia and Mouseia Sebasteia Julia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 377 - <i>BCH</i> 26 (1902) 299.19 Ag. Erotideia Kaisareia and Mouseia Sebasteia Julia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 358 - <i>BCH</i> 50 (1926) 431.61 Ag. Mouseia Sebasteia and Erotideia Kaisareia</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 405 - <i>BCH</i> 50 (1926) 432. 62 – Ag. Erotideia (and) Kaisareia, and Mouseia twice</p> <p>Plutarch <i>Amat.</i> 1 (748F) Mouseia</p>	<p><i>IThesp</i> 177 (<i>BCH</i> 19 (1895) 341-343 no.16 ca. AD 150-160) Megala Traianeia Hadrianeia Sebasteia Mouseia VL – P, Po, Mu, Dr</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 178 (C2AD) Mouseia – P, Po, Mu, Dr</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 179 (<i>BCH</i> 19 (1895) 343.17 ca.AD 170 – VL – P, Po, Mu, Dr</p> <p><i>IThesp</i> 184 (<i>IG</i> VII 1775 C1/C2AD) – Ag. Megala Kaisareia Sebasteia Mouseia</p> <p><i>IG</i> VII 2519 – statue of Ag. of Mouseia</p>	
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Table 2

Location/agōn	C6BC	C5BC	C4BC	C3BC	C2BC	C1BC	C1AD	C2AD	C3AD
Akraiphia Emperors									
Akraiphia Ptoia (?)									
Ptoion Perdikovrysi									
Akraiphia Ptoia									
Akraiphia Soteria									
Koroneia Pamboiotia									
Koroneia Unknown									
Lebadeia Basileia									
Lebadeia Kaisareia									
Lebadeia Sebastoi									
Lebadeia Trophonia/ Trophoneia									
Onchestos unknown									
Orchomenos Charitesia									
Orchomenos Homoloia									

Location/ agōn	C6BC	C5BC	C4BC	C3BC	C2BC	C1BC	C1AD	C2AD	C3AD
Orchomenos unknown									
Orchomenos Agrionia?									
Oropos Amphiaraiia									
Plataia Eleutheria									
Tanagra ephebic 'to Aulis'									
Tanagra Delia									
Tanagra Ephebic Unknown (El...)									
Tanagra ephebic 'Family of Emperors '									
Tanagra ephebic Hekatephoros									
Tanagra Ephebic Hermaia									
Tanagra Ephebic Kaisareia									
Tanagra Ephebic 'to Mykalessos'									
Tanagra Ephebic Oreineia									

Location/Agōn	C6BC	C5BC	C4BC	C3BC	C2BC	C1BC	C1AD	C2AD	C3AD
Tanagra Eph. <i>Panēg.</i> of hunters									
Tanagra Ephebic <i>Peri</i> <i>Alkēs</i>									
Tanagra ephebic Prosdromos									
Tanagra Sarapieia									
Tanagra ephebic Skutale									
Thebes Agrionia									
Thebes Iolaiea/ Herakleia									
Thebes Romaia									
Thespiai Dionyseia?									
Thespiai Erotideia									
Thespiai Mouseia									

Key – Proclamation (herald, trumpet, rhapsode); Poetry; Music; drama; athletics; hippic; military; unspecified.

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